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JERUSALEM

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Two Killed In West Bank Protests; Reagan Plan Solicits Arab Regimes

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As the world's news agencies were busy reporting discussing, interviewing, and obtaining reactions of almost everyone on US President Reagan's latest plans for the Middle East, Palestinians in the occupied territories — whose immediate future was the subject of the debate — were overlooked. Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij's telegramme of support to Reagan was criticised by most Palestinians locally. The majority expressed skepticism and doubts about Reagan's suggestions, noting that it was an appendum the rejected Camp David agreement and did not address itself to even the minimum Palestinian demands of self-determination and statehood.

While Reagan was finally admitting that the Palestinian problem was more than a problem of refugees, ironically Palestinian refugees living in the occupied territories started the week with a number of protests against the decision by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to suspend monthly rations. Representatives of five refugee camps and members of the UNRWA Workers', Employees' and Teachers' Union held a sit-in strike September 2 to protest . . . . . .

The following day, September 3, a 16-year-old youth was killed and three ...ers were injured in Nablus when Israeli soldiers opened fire into a crowd of young people. *Al Ittihad*, the Haifa-based Arabic bi-weekly, reported that the shooting death incited Nablus residents to continue demonstrations for the next three days. Soldiers again used live ammunition as they dispersed demonstrators, wounding two more youths who raised Palestinian flags and portraits of PLO leader Yasir Arafat.

Hebrew daily *Davar* reported that Israeli authorities have placed a news blackout on Palestinian activities in the occupied territories ever since the invasion into Lebanon.

In another shooting incident, Israel Radio reported that an 18-year-old Palestinian youth from the Tulkarm area was killed September 6 during a "combing operation" carried out by Israeli soldiers who were allegedly in search of suspects who opened fire at a passing Israeli bus. (Excerpts.)

Finally, as world politicans were discussing Reagan's new move, Israeli authorities went on with their plans by approving yet another eight settlements to be built in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Calls by US President Reagan a week before to freeze settlement proved not to intimidate the Israeli government.

TWO YOUTHS KILLED DURING WEST BANK INCIDENTS

On September 3, one person was killed and three injured in Nablus when Israeli soldiers fired into a demonstration taking place in the city.

Demonstrations continued, September 6, for the fourth straight day in Nablus, involving hundreds of residents who took to the streets, despite the presence of numerous military vehicles patrolling the area. The demonstrators chanted slogans denouncing the occupation, and its brutal crimes against the Palestinian people in Lebanon, and in the occupied territories.

Eyewitnesses reported that demonstrations broke out in the city streets in the morning while the Palestinian flag was flying on Nssr Mosque, and al-Kabir mosque. Most shops closed down, in solidarity with the demonstrators. Demonstrations continued after the occupation army fired at demonstrators on Friday, September 3, killing Muhammad Ibrahim Abu Mghalli, 18, and wounding three others. As demonstrations were renewed Sunday, September 5 in response to the news, the Israelis, again, resorted to firing at the demonstrators, who were carrying Palestinian flags and portraits of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Two more youths were wounded and were transferred to an undisclosed destination by the Israeli soldiers.

A correspondent of the Israeli daily *Davar*, admitted on Sunday, September 5, that the occupation authorities had banned from publication any reports about demonstrations in the West Bank throughout the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Local observers note that the Israeli occupation authorities took that step in order to prevent protest spreading against the war in Lebanon, and to give the impression that the residents of the occupied territoires have yielded to Israeli military might. (Translation: al Ittihad September 7)

Israel radio reported that a Palestinian youth was killed near Tulkarm in the western most section of the West Bank, September 6, during a "combing process" carried out by the Israeli army. The soldiers, the radio alleged, were looking for a person who fired a machine gun at an Israeli bus carrying soldiers.

The radio added that during the "combing operation" which occurred after the initial shooting episode, the Israeli soldiers told four young men who were in the area to stop. When one of them tried to escape shots were fired at him, killing him instantly. The other three were arrested and released shortly afterwards, following their interrogation. (Translation: Al Fajr)

Soldiers and civilians who were on the bus allegedly fired upon — with the aid of additional army units and a helicopter, and their personal automatic weapons — begin 'combing' the area off a road near Tulkarm.

EIGHT NEW SETTLEMENTS

The Israeli government, in coordination with the settlement branch of the World Zionist Organisation, decided, September 4, to build eight new settlements in the occupied West Bank, and one in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli decision comes less than a week after US President Ronald Reagan's request that Israel freeze settlement building in the occupied territories.

According to Israeli sources, IS20 million has already been allocated for three of the eight proposed settlements and work is scheduled to begin soon. The three settlements are Susia near Yatta, south of the Hebron mountians, Kochva, south of Gush Etzion, near Bethlehem, and Ginat, northwest of Jenin, the northernmost city in the West Bank. The remaining settlements are Negohot, and Adora near Dura, Omarim near Beit Ummar, and Yakin, which are near Hebron. The fifth settlement is slated for Gaza, and is planned to house former Yamit settlers.

In its report on the settlement plan, *The Jerusalem Post* said that Nahal settlements will be converted into Negohot, Adora, and Yakin settlements. Nahal settlements are usually built on confiscated land from Palestinian residents, on the pretext of "security requirements," and soldiers then stationed in a hastily-built observation post. Later on, these outposts are converted into regular settlements.

Israel's Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich replied to the US criticism of Israeli settlements by saying that "this has nothing to do with the US president's (peace) plan."

Work was reported to have begun on two other settlements last week. The new settlement, Ofraim, is being built on Kafr ad-Dik land, near Tulkarm, which was grabbed in February 1982.

(Excerpts from the Jerusalem Post and local papers)

Settlement road/SF

Refugees Protest UNRWA Decision

Representatives of five refugee camps in the West Bank, and members of the executive council of UNRWA Workers', Employees' and Teachers' Union held a sit-in, September 2, at UNRWA headquarters in Sheikh Jarrah, Jerusalem. The strikers were protesting UNRWA's decision to suspend the monthly food rations which, they said, is the first step to abolishing their status as refugees, and thus abandoning the Palestinian problem in a way that contradicts their aspirations.

Last week the UNRWA administration decided to suspend monthly rations to Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories, because the UN international relief organisation said it did not have the funds now that its resources were being diverted to assist the problems of refugees in Lebanon.

The protestors said they rejected the UNRWA decision because they do not want their problems as forcefully displaced residents to be "put in the closet." Adnan Abu Zayed, a refugee from Aqbat Jaber refugee camp, near Jericho, told *Al Fajr* that the decision is the first step of a plan to end the Palestinian presence in the refugee camps, symbolised by the refugee card. Samih Shtat, from Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah, stated, "UNRWA does not have the right to suspend the ration distribution before our problem is solved, and before we get our full legitimate rights."

In the past several years, UNRWA has been decreasing the monthly rations, citing financial shortages.

The Palestinian refugees affected by the suspension decision see it as a political issue. They say the decision will impose added problems to already poor families who have no means of support. Many widows and large families who depend on the monthly rations will also suffer from the decision.

The seriousness of the issue prompted employees, teachers, and service workers in UNRWA institutions to join camp residents and protest the UNRWA action. At an earlier meeting, the union decided to form a th.ee-member committee from the heads of the three union councils to follow up their rejection of the decision with action.

At the end of the strike, representatives from the five refugee camps handed a memorandum to the deputy of the chief of UNRWA operations, and asked him to send it to the general commisioner of the UNRWA.

Last week notables and *mukhtars* of the Gaza Strip refugee camps met with the head of the UNRWA operations in the Strip and handed him a statement protesting the UNRWA decision. The head of UNRWA operations promised to deliver the statement to the general commissioner in Vienna.

POUNDING LEBANON INTO (THE RIGHT) SHAPE

As work on rubble clearing, and reconstruction began in west Beirut this week, Israel began removing political obstacles to its hegemony over Lebanon, by melting a number of right-wing factions into a single pro-Israeli bloc. At the same time there were a number of serious military operations in South Lebanon, and across the confrontation lines in the Beqa'a Valley, initiating new tensions.

In violation of the US-engineered withdrawal agreement, Israeli troops advanced to positions around the national museum, and in an area north of Usa'i. They occupied the Bulgarian and South Yemeni embassies, September 3 and 4. *The Jerusalem Post* confirmed the Israeli advance and added that Israeli soldiers occupied Ain al-Jala' area south of Beirut. The step followed an Israeli charge that 2,000 PLO fighters are still present in west Beirut, and must leave the capital. Reports from Lebanon said that the Mourabitoun (Lebanese Nasserite militia) have begun turning over their positions in west Beirut to the Lebanese army.

On the night of September

3, Lebanese president-elect, Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel, held a secret meeting with Israel's prime minister Menahem Beign in Nahariya. Gemayel was reported to have "complained" to Begin, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, all present at the meeting, about the political difficulties facing his presidency. This complaint was understood by the Israeli leaders as a backing off from a previous commitment to sign a peace treaty with them. News of the meeting was mysteriously leaked to the Israeli press but vehemently denied by Gemayel on Radio Lebanon.

Sharon outlined Israel's uneasiness with the new Lebanese president in a speech to Kiryat Shmona settlers, Sep. 6. If no peace treaty was produced between Israel and Lebanon, he said, "Israel will take the necessary measures to insure the demilitarisation of a 40-50 kilometres zone north of the Israeli border.

In a rebuff to Gemayel, Sharon also arranged a meeting with separatist Sa'ad Haddad, and encouraged him to continue to spread his control in the area extending north to Sidon.

As Israel's politicians continued to draw out plans for Lebanon, the Israeli army faced grave difficulties in ending military resistance in the areas technically under its control. According to Lebanese, Syrian, and Israeli military communiques, a total of seven military assaults on Israeli positions were carried out this week. In those operations, five Israeli soldiers were killed, 35 wounded, and eight more taken prisoners.

Both Lebanon and Israel circulated reports that the number of Palestinian fighters in the Beqa'a Valley had risen to 10,000, and in Tripli to 5,000. George Habash, General Secretary of the PFLP and Nayef Hawatmeh, General Secretary of the DFLP, left Syria to visit Palestinian and Lebanese positions in the Beqa'a.

In Tripoli, Salah Khalaf, a leading figure in the Fatah Central Committee, met with residents of al-Bedawi, and Nahr al-Bared refugee camps, before meeting with former Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh. Karameh, one of Tripoli most prominent residents, reiterated his opposition to Gemayel, and announced that a coalition of nationalist forces will keep the north out of Gemayel's control.

Israel Reoccupies Crossing

Lebanese civilians who passed through the national museum crossing point between east and west Beirut reported September 2 that an Israeli unit had reoccupied a position near the museum. Their position was evacuated by the Israeli army several days ago to give way to the multinational force which supervised the PLO fighters expulsion from Beirut.

An eyewitness who reported the Israeli advance said that the 30 Israeli soldiers who occupied the position were equipped with three transport vehicles, heavy automatic guns, and mortars. This step extends the Israeli positions to the Lebanese and French soldiers' lines.

In other events, the Israeli army closed other crossing points in front of oncoming traffic and conducted a thorough search of every vehicle that passed to the opposite sector of the city.

Lebanon's PM Wazzan attended a ceremonial opening of the Sadeko crossing point, which was part of the plan to "establish peace between the two sections of the capital." The plan includes sending of policemen to west Beirut, and reopening other crossing points between the east and west sectors of the capital. (Translated from Al Fajr September 1).

Gemayel, Begin Meet Secretly

Bashir Gemayel, Lebanon's elected president, and head of the 10,000-man Phalangist militia, met secretly, September 3, with the Israeli prime minister in Nahariya, in the Galilee, to discuss future relations between Lebanon and Israel. The evening meeting was attended by both Israeli Defence and Foreign Ministers Ariel Sharon, and Yitzhak Shamir.

Israel Radio, which reported the meeting, said that Gemayel told the Israeli prime minister that he would strengthen ties with Israel by signing a peace agreement as soon as he establishes his authority in a stable Lebanese government.

The Phalangist radio, Radio Lebanon, denied that the meeting took place but did report that Gemayel met with President Elias Sarkis in Ba'abda, and discussed with him plans to "rebuild" Lebanon.

According to Israeli reports Gemayel also briefed Begin on the political opposition he is facing, in his attempts to consolidate his control over Lebanon.

Meanwhile, Lebanese National leaders reaffirmed their opposition to the signing of any peace treaty with Israel, and said that they will openly oppose the Phalangist plans.

Israel Still Advancing

Israeli troops stationed around Beirut, moved northwards September 6, into Ain al-Jala' neighbourhood, inside west Beirut, and occupied the Bulgarian and South Yemeni embassies. Military spokesmen claimed there are 2,000 Palestinian guerrillas still stationed in the area.

The Israeli advance was resisted by the Lebanese National Movement fighters, who put up stiff resistance, and stopped the Israeli fighters from occupying any military position, according to leftist sources. Ibrahim Kleilat, head of the Mourabitoun militia and Nabih Beri, head of the Shi'ite Amal movement, later announced that the Israeli advance is a violation of the withdrawal agreement reached by Habib, according to which the Palestinian forces departed from Beirut. Both leaders also denied the presence of any Palestinian fighters in Beirut.

In the Beqa'a Valley, and northern Lebanon, reporters said that four prominent Palestinian leaders had arrived from Damascus to visit the Joint Forces positions in this area. Israel Radio reported that Fatah Executive Committee membeg Salah Khalaf, and Hayel Abdel Hamid, a PLO military commander, arrived in Tripoli. The two leaders visited Bedawi and Nahr al-Bared refugee camps. PFLP Secretary General George Habash, and DFLP leader Nayef Hawatmeh visited the Joint Forces positions in al-Maten al-A'ala, and the Beqa'a.

Earlier, the Joint Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist forces confirmed that some of their units had abducted eight Israeli soldiers, on Saturday, September 3.

In related news, former Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh warned against Israeli intentions in South Lebanon, and called on the Lebanese government to confront any Israeli action there.

Beirut Airport Reopening Put Off

The reopening of Beirut International Airport, scheduled for September 1, was postponed by the Lebanese government, after Israel placed conditions on its permission, official Lebanese sources said, September 2.

The Israelis conditioned the reopening of the airport, which is under their military control, on the assigning of an Israeli technician to the control tower, and on the Israeli state airline El Al being permitted to use the airport for commerical flights. Israel also demands the passenger lists of all planes entering and leaving the airport, in addition to stationing soldiers in Khaldeh, directly south of the airport.

The Lebanese government rejected the conditions but is reported to be working through US Special Envoy Philip Habib's assistant Morris Draper on solving the issue with the Israelis.

Lebanon's Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan said Israel must leave the Beirut seaport, the airport and Ba'abda, according to the overall withdrawal agreement arranged by Habib. Wazzan noted that the Israeli army is still stationed in the airport despite the fact that the Palestinian forces completed their withdrawal. Observers point out that the continuing closure of the Beirut airport benefits the Israeli El Al which now has a monopoly on foreign air travel via Tel Aviv. It has set up offices throughout Lebanon for ticketing Lebanese passengers.

LEBANON SHORTS

ARREST IN HEBREW

According to Israel Radio, a PLO spokesman said that a Palestinian fighter spoke to the eight Israeli soldiers captured September 4, in fluent Hebrew before capturing them. When the soldiers were convinced that he was an Israeli he advanced towards them followed by his new friends and made the capture.

GREETINGS ENEMY

Israeli daily *Haaretz* reported that during the 'greetings programme' on the Arabic service of Israel Radio one of the RPG kids was interviewed. After sending greetings to his mother, father, brothers and sisters, the announcer asked him to thank Israel Radio for allowing him to speak. The boy answered: "Thanks to the Zionist radio which is run by the enemy."

MOVING UP

Ha'aretz reported that the Israeli army has began to transfer military installations from the Naqab to Israeli occupied Lebanon. The paper added that the army has recently dismantled a number of military installations after the Israeli authorities discovered that there were no empty buildings in the places designated for the Israeli army in Lebanon.

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PLAN - BRIBE

Steadfastness leads to rights

US President Ronald Reagan presented a plan last week which supposedly goes a big step toward solving the Middle East crisis.

This plan follows the destructive and genocidal war by the Israeli aggressors against the Lebanese people, the Palestinian people and the PLO — the same war which could not have occurred without the USA's green light.

Regan's new scheme does nothing to fulfil the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to set up an independent state. It is nothing more than a tasty bribe to get the Jordanian government to join the Camp David Accords in return for a promise to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip to Jordan after granting semi-autonomy to the inhabitants.

Although the plan rules out Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza after a five year transitional period, it denies, in advance, the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state. It also calls for Jerusalem to remain 'united,' thus rubber-stamping Israel's decision to annex Jerusalem.

Reagan's plan is simply an attempt to collect the fruits of the genocidal war and to impose American conditions on solving the Palestinian crisis. The change from total denial of a Palestinian people to reluctantly admitting its exisitence was brought about by the Palestinian stand against the Israeli invasion. And it is the continuing Palestinian struggle that besieges the American policy. The US talks constantly of peace. Their actions, however, show that they are only willing to do anything - however destructive — after resistance has brought their world view in ruins around their ears.

A logical conclusion of this negation of humanity is that it is only when the PLO and the Palestinian people resumes all forms of struggle against the Israeli occupation that the American administration will be forced, to admit the rights of the Palestinian people as recognised by UN resolutions and the vast majority of the countries of the world.

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WHAT'S IN IT

by Ghassan Bishara
Washington DC Correspondent

For the sake of peace, US interests and those of other Middle East states, President Reagan proposed "a fresh start" in the Middle East conflict solution in a 20 minute speech to the nation, September 1. The proposal, already rejected by the Israelis, is being carefully studied by the PLO and other Arab leaders.

The plan advanced by Reagan is the outcome of many weeks of discussion and debate which followed the confirmation of George Shultz to the top position of this administration's foreign policy hierarchy. Reagan, it is believed, must have shown some willingness to adjust to Shultz's ideas. Shultz met with present and former experts on the Middle East, Henry Kissinger, Sol Linowitz and others in many sessions of discussion searching for ideas. With the Lebanese crisis in the front a senior adminstration official said, the President decided to move fast in emphasising the need for peace in a region that sees it too rarely.

The guiding elements for the President's remarks, said the senior adminstation official, are security for Israel, peace everywhere, especially in the Middle East, and the importance in dealing properly and justly with the need of the Palestinian people to improve conditions for peace. The president suggested that the way to achieve this is for Israel to stop all settlement activities in the territories, certainly avoid annexation of the territories and be willing to start a process which will end up with granting Palestinians self-rule in the territories, which will then be associated with Jordan.

Outlining his programme to the US people and asking for their "support and . . . prayers in this great undertaking," the president appeared to be setting the stage for a serious consideration of his plan. The seriousness of Reagan's intent in pursuing this new "fresh start" in the Middle East has been emphasised and re-emphasised by various administration officials.

Reagan explained the US concern for the region and its security as being based on previous US administration policies, the Soviet threat and the Lebanese crisis. The war in Lebanon, Reagan said, demonstrated that the Palestinian people's "yearning . . . for a just solution of their claims has not diminished" despite the PLO's military losses. Israel's military prowess was not able to achieve peace in the region, he said. Reagan's speech also emphasised two other points — US rejection of an independent Palestine state of the West Bank and Gaza, and that Palestinians are not merely refugees, and thus their legitimate needs must be dealt with.

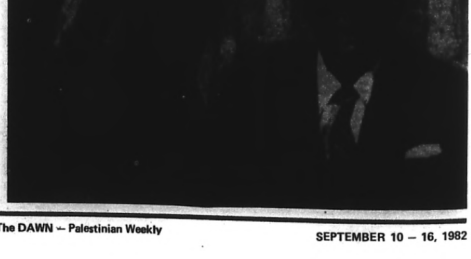
The new proposal fonsees a negotiating process with "the firm view of the US that self government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan, offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace." Reagan also relied on the principles of 242, the exchange of Israeli-occupied territory for Arab recognition. He of course, is not calling on Israel to withdraw from all of the West Bank and Gaza, including Jerusalem, but said that to the extent Israel will return land to Arab sovereignty, it will be repaid by "true peace and normalisation" and security arrangements.

The new plan doesn't resolve the problem of Jerusalem, but only restates US views that it should not be divided and its future and ultimate status should be left to negotiations. The US is on record stating that East Jerusalem is part of the West Bank and is occupied. As for the settlements already existing, the new plan doesn't touch upon them, nor does the plan discuss the issue of Palestinians outside the area. One official said the Camp David Accords provides the vehicle for answering such issues.

With Israel's rejection of Reagan's "fresh start" already determined, the US government is not expressing any suprise. When asked, officials say that they were not expecting everybody to jump on the wagon. These officials, including the State Department spokesperson would not provide scenarios for what may follow Israel's rejection. Hughes told *Al Fajr* that no official rejection has been received from Israel and that when it is received it will be studies. Officials believe that Israel's rejection is of the plan as interpreted by the government of Israel, but that as a programme for negotiations it is still open for give-and-take. Arab and Palestinian reaction to this new initiative has not yet been received though some Palestinian spokespersons have expressed some guarded optimism.

Although no official would openly mention the use of US leverage to push this plan through, it is believed that Reagan might at some point threaten or even use leverage to bring about approval. A State Department official told *Al Fajr* that his plan foresaw a 'stick' as well as a 'carrot' to promote the change.

Israel's fears about the Reagan proposal resulting in a sovereign Palestinian state have been rejected by officials. Other officials, however, agree that sometime in the future it may be that Palestinians in the West Bank will ask for and receive sovereignty from the Hashemite Kingdom. These officials say that by then even Israel may accept a sovereign Palestinian state, if the borders between Israel and the envisaged Jordan/Palestine have proven to be quiet.



TAKING REAGAN'S SPEECH APART

By Emile Tobasi

After a long and careful study of Ronald Reagan's August 31 speech, I culled the following points based on Reagan's own words:

1. 'There is a strategic threat from the Soviet Union and its surrogates in the area . . . and an example of that is what is happening in Afghanistan. With regard to the Soviet threat we have strengthened our efforts to develop a joint policy with our friends and allies to deter the Soviets from further expansion in the region.'

2. 'With respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict we have embraced the Camp David framework as the only way to peace.'

3. 'We have not lost sight of the next step of Camp David: autonomy talks.'

4. 'The evacuation of the PLO from Beirut is now complete. And now we can help the Lebanese rebuild their war-torn country.'

5. 'The military losses of the PLO have not diminished the yearning of the Palestinian people for a just solution to their claims. The Israeli army forces which are second to none in the region cannot bring a just and lasting peace to Israel and her neighbours.'

6. 'The question is how to reconcile Israel's legitimate security concerns with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, keeping in mind that the Camp David accords will stay as the foundation of our policy.'

In order to assure this peace — Reagan style — he made the following points in his speech:

a. 'Just and lasting peace can only come through direct negotiations.'

b. 'I call on the Palestinian people to recognise that their own political aspirations are bound to the recognition of Israel's right to a secure future.'

c. Israel's legitimacy has been recognised by too few countries and has been denied by every Arab state except Egypt.'

d. 'The Camp David agreement spoke of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza (only) granting them self rule.'

e. The US will not support the use of any additional land for the purpose of settlements during the transition period. Indeed the immediate adoptation of a settlement freeze by Israel could create the confidence needed for wider participation in the talks.'

f. 'Beyond the transition period it is clear that peace cannot be achieved by the creation of an independent Palestinian state, nor is it achieved on the basis of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza.

g. 'There is another way for peace . . . A self government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable and lasting peace.'

h. 'We base our approach on the principle that the Arab-Israeli conflict should be solved through negotiations involving the exchange of territory for peace . . . This exchange is enriched in UN Resolution 242 (although 242 did not speak of an exchange of territory but withdrawal from territory — author) which has remained wholly valid as the foundation stone of America's Middle East peace effort.'

i. 'Jerusalem must remain undivided, but its final status should be decided through negotiations.'

In the end Reagan announced to the Arabs and the world: 'Make no mistake, the United States will oppose any proposal — from any party and at any point in the negotiation process — that threatens the security of Israel. America's commitment to the security of Israel is ironcald and I might add, so is mine.'

I will explain in simple terms my opinion of Reagan's speech or the American peace proposal as some media agencies have labeled it. My comment to the speech starts from the end and ends with the beginning, because our time is upside down:

1. The commitment of the US to the security of Israel is as strong as its commitment to its own security ie, between Israel and the US is an eternal partnership.

2. Jerusalem is united just as Israel wants.

3. Direct negotiations means between Israel and the Arab countries without mentioning the PLO.

4. Border adjustments meaning giving part of the West Bank and Gaza to Israel. In return Israel is awarded peace with the Arab neighbours.

5. Autonomous rule only to the people of the West Bank and Gaza failing to mention the rights of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories; no rights for the deported, exiled refugees of 1948, 1967.

6. "NO" to an independent Palestinian state (for the protection, peace and security of Israel).

7. The autonomy can be tied to Jordan if the state of Israel concedes its land to us in return for Israel's peace.

8. All the countires of the Middle East have to recognise Israel and its right to live in peace . . . but as for the rights of the Palestinian people, we have only to ask God's help in that.

9. Camp David is the basis for any settlement.

10. The last point is that Reagan exposed the partnership of the US with the reactionary forces in the Arab world when he called them "our friends and allies" in order to work together against the Soviet danger. As the Arab proverb goes, "He was quiet for a century and then spoke blasphemy." If he didn't speak it would have been better.

THE REAGAN WONDER

ONE ISRAELI'S ANGLE

By Peretz Kidron

"Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised into find it done at all." Samuel Johnson.

In its original form, wittily offensive to women, Dr. Johnson's remark could be re-worded to characterise President Reagan's proposals for a Mideast peace settlement. They are indeed "not done well;" anyone with the slightest understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict — particularly of its kernel, the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians — would have no more difficulty in demolishing Reagan's notions than in pointing out their want of originality. With his opposition to a Palestinian state, with his adherence to the "Jordanian connection," with his exclusive concern for the security of Israel unmatched by any parallel stress on security for the Palestinians — what the US president has cooked up tastes like little more than a mildly-spiced re-hash of the Israel Labour party's "Jordanian option."

But if the medium is the message, so is the messenger; and, originating this time from the White House and not from Labour headquarters in Tel Aviv's Hayarkon Street, the message is much more meaningful. Backed now by an American determination to find some solution for a conflict at long last perceived in Washington as

harmful to US interests, the ideas outlined by Reagan do hold out some prospect of generating a momentum to block and reverse Israel's creeping (or galloping) annexation of the occupied territories.

To be realistic, the Israeli government is susceptible only to pressure from Washington, and if the Administration rams through its plan to end Israel's progressive takeover, that is a welcome improvement over the existing situation, or indeed, over anything likely to emerge in the foreseeable future. On top of that, if the Americans plunge into the detailed negotiations for resolving the conflict, confrontation with the concrete problems may yet induce them to modify their plan and eradicate some of its more blatant flaws.

To be fair, there are already some important differences between the Reagan plan and that associated with the late Labour leader Yigal Alon. To take just one example, Reagan's proposal for a Palestinian "linkage" with Jordan is presented in vague terms, and may represent nothing more than a token connection introduced mainly to allay Israeli anxieties. If that is indeed the American intention, it is a far cry from Labour's "Jordanian option" which, put crudely, foresees King Hussein's troops replacing Israeli soldiers in the dirty work of policing the Palestinians.

Should anyone retain doubts about the thrust of the Reagan's proposals and their probable impact on the situation — the howls of outrage emenating from the Begin government are convincing enough proof that they do not advance what it perceives as "Israel's fundamental interests."

If the US Administration has finally plucked up the courage to "walk on its hind legs" ie, fling off its subservience to the Begin diktat by presenting peace proposals of its own — the "surprise" ought to be a pleasant one. Palestinian leaders might do well to offer a modest round of appaluse to this unusual and possibly useful feat.

AMERICAN SPONGE

by Attalah Najjar

In the midst of the great and diverse efforts being taken by the American administration and its allies in the area, is the aim of 'marketting' the new American ideas to solve the Palestinian problem and settle the future of the occupied territories as outlined in the latest speech by US President Reagan. Responsible American officials tell us that this time President Reagan has placed all his political and personal weight behind his new proposal, assuring its seriousness.

As usual, America's 'men' in the area try to convince us of the positiveness of Reagan's proposal by pointing out the Likud government's refusal of it, as if political proposals become more positive in proportion to Israeli refusal, forgetting that Begin refused the plan because it doesn't fulfil the Israeli greed 100 percent. Begin doesn't drink from the glass unless it is full to the brim.

President Reagan commented on the Israeli refusal to his plan and the decision to set up new settlements by saying: "This decision places real doubt on Israel's desire for peace." Taken by itself this statement is quite true, but Reagan knows that the Israeli settlements are built by American money. And as long as Reagan refuses to cut off aid to Israel — or at least the part specified for settlements — we have the right to say to Reagan, "This stand makes us doubt your desire for peace, at least as you have interpreted it in your speech." Our doubt is quickly converted to certainty because we know that the United States is able to impose its conditions and bring Israel down to its proper size. And the belief that Israel is able to mutiny against the American administration is far from any logical thinking.

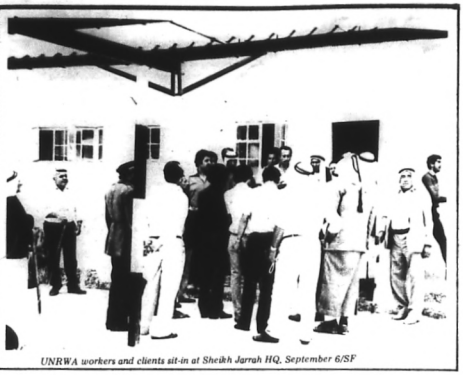
The method of punishing one's friends and allies is not strange to President Reagan. A few days ago, Reagan placed economic sanctions on Western European countries which agreed to provide the Soviet Union with equipment needed for the transcontinental gas line. Although Reagan did not place all his weight behind the case, he was not afraid of gritting his teeth even towards his European allies who are less followers of US policy than is Israel.

The obvious question which presents itself to us is: "Why doesn't Reagan grit his teeth towards Israel, not for the cause of the Palestinians, but for his own political prestige which we are told he has put fully on this case?"

The truth is that Reagan outlined his latest proposal not to impose it on Israel, but as a sponge to suck up all the Arab anger and disgust at the US for standing behind Israel in its latest invasion of Lebanon.

Believe me, Begin would not dare refuse Reagan's proposal if he knew that Reagan was speaking seriously. (Translation Al Fajr September 9, 1982)

WEEKLY REVIEW



UNRWA workers and clients sit-in at Sheikh Jarrah HQ, September 6/SF

September 2, 1982

BLACKMAIL THREATS

QALQILYA — The committee appointed by the military to replace the Qalqilya municipality threatened to demolish nearly 250 houses on the pretext that owners built them without licenses.

Haj Amin Nasser, the elected mayor of Qalqilya, refuted the claim. Sources in Qalqilya noted that the threats are attempts to blackmail the citizens who refuse to co-operate with the appointed committee.

VISITING WOUNDED

JERUSALEM — Delegations representing the Red Crescent Societies in Ramallah and al-Bireh, the Youth Social Work Committees and various unions and councils, visited Palestinian and Lebanese victims hospitalised in Rambam and Rothschild Hospitals in Haifa.

A LIKELY SPOT

HEBRON — The family of Sa'di Muhammad Abd al-Salam Masri moved to a rented house last week. Israeli authorities demolished their original house, adjacent to Kiryat Arba settlement, on the pretext that it was built according to a license issued by the Hebron municipality but without the approval of the military authorities.

WHOSE PRIZE?

NABLUS — Excavations carried out in the Sufian area near Nablus have discovered a circular Roman theatre.

LIGHTS OUT

DHAHIRIYEH — Residents of Dhahiriyeh village, estimated at 15,000, are suffering a continuous electricity blackout in their village due to damage to the electricity generator.

ONE TEACHER MORE OR LESS

TULKARM — Israeli authorities renewed the town arrest imposed on teacher Nassoh Ramini who teaches Islamic religion in Tulkarm. He has been prevented from leaving his village for the last six months and has to report to the police once a week. He has been obliged to retire as from September 1.

September 3, 1982

BOOSTING SETTLEMENTS INTO TOWNS

TEL AVIV — David Levy, Israeli minister of housing, asked his ministry to expedite the move of settlers to new settlement towns erected on the West Bank.

Efrat settlement will be given the status of a city in a few days' time. Ma'aleh Adumim settlement was declared a city, August 31, in a special ceremony.

SCHIFF ON BEIRUT

TEL AVIV — Zeev Schiff wrote in *Haaretz* newspaper that Israel would have suffered heavy loses had it entered Beirut. "Even if only one out of 10 of the 20,000 fighters had managed to hit one Israeli soldier, our casualties would have been very high, estimated at several hundreds," he wrote.

According to this minimum estimate, the number of wounded and killed Israelis would have been 2000. Nothing else would have prevented Sharon from achieving his dream of assassinating the PLO leaders, as many leaders as possible, and bringing others as captives and put them on trial in Israel.

1948 PALESTINIANS PROTEST WAR

ACRE — In a reply to the call of the Popular Committee Against the Aggressive War on Lebanon and for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, residents from Acre and western Galilee are scheduled to participate in a large peace demonstration to Kufr Yasif and Abu Snan.

CHOLERA OUTBREAK

GAZA — Fourteen cases of cholera have been diagnosed in Gaza, all from the same family living in Shate' refugee camp. Eleven children between 2 and 12 years old, their mother, and aunt are all reported to be in good condition.

September 4, 1982

PLO MEETS

TUNIS — The PLO Executive Committee, headed by Yasir Arafat, held a meeting to define the Palestinian position before participating in the Arab summit conference and to study the situation after the war in Lebanon and the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters from west Beirut.

A Palestinian source said that the Central Committee is now studying US President Reagan's proposals concerning the Palestinian crisis. The same source said the meeting was especially important since it is the first to be held after the invasion of Lebanon.

ANTI-REAGAN

TEL AVIV — The political office of the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, strongly criticised the US proposals concerning the Middle East, calling them an attempt to impose US hegemony and split the Arab liberation movement.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

BEIRUT — The Palestine News Agency, WAFA, said that Israeli forces have begun building the first Israeli settlements in Lebanese occupied territories, southeast of the Beqa'a. WAFA said that the Israeli forces have reinforced their troops in western Beqa'a in the past 48 hours and have set up a radar station there to observe Syrian troop movements.

ANTI-REAGAN II

Israeli Defence Minister Sharon said in an interview with Israel Radio that he is convinced that US President Reagan will find himself turning down his own peace proposals because he will find that they cannot be realised. Sharon said that these proposals greatly endanger Israel and ought not be discussed by the cabinet.

VETERAN PEDAGOGUES FIRED

TULKARM — The Israeli education officer informed Tulkarm education office of the decision to dismiss 10 employees. They have all served at least 30 years.

DEMO OUTLAWED

GALILEE — Israeli police summoned the head of Kufr Yasif local council and informed him that he is not allowed to hold demonstrations in the village.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the villages of Kufr Yasif and Abu Snan were preparing to demonstrate in protest against events in Lebanon.

LAST MINUTE REPRIEVE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli general prosecutor has decided to cancel a decision to deport prisoner Abd al-Aziz Shahin — Abu Ali — from Rafah. The decision was given to his lawyer Lea Tsemel and was made in light of the documents given by his lawyer and family proving that he was living in the country when he was arrested in September 1967 and that his name was included in the population registry.

Abu Ali Shahin was arrested in 1967 and imprisoned for 15 years. The term is to end on September 24.

BEGIN, SHARON SAID FASCISTS

VIENNA — Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, said that Sharon and Begin are fascists and that he would not negotiate with Israel as long as they remain in power. When asked about his comparison of Sharon and Begin with the Nazis, Kreisky said that Hitler used military machinery to achieve political gains. Kreisky added that nobody could accuse him of anti-Semitism because he himself is a Jew.

SETTLEMENTS CONTINUE REAGAN OR NO REAGAN

NABLUS — Israeli bulldozers have opened a road on Salman Farsal Mountain, east of Asireh al-Qibliah in the Nablus area. The Israeli authorities have built an outpost on the top of the mountain. The road starts from near Burin. Israeli bulldozers continued working on the road built last year that starts from Mount Tor, south of Nablus, to the main Nablus road to Jerusalem. Work on this road was stopped by a decision of the Israeli High Court when Burin residents appealed last year.

September 5, 1982

CAN'T TAKE THIS ONE

DURA — An Israeli Jerusalem court heard the appeal of the Namoura family against the confiscation of their land in Dura area, Hebron district. The court ruled against the confiscation of the land, estimated at 2800 dunums, after the owners succeeded in proving their legal ownership of the land.

NABLUS STRIKE AGAINST UNRWA

NABLUS — Refugees from Nablus camps and leading figures continued their strike at the local UNRWA office to protest the arbitrary decision of the UNRWA to stop distribution of supplies among refugees because of the emergency declared in Lebanon. The council of the General Federation of Trade Unions in the West Bank also denounced the decision and declared full support for the refugees. The council decided to send a letter of protest to the general director of the UNRWA.

CAN'T CONFISCATE FROM SETTLER

KHAN YUNIS — Owners of land in Sheikh Hamoudeh area in Khan Yunis filed a case to the Israel High Court to discuss their land confiscated by the authorities on the pretext of building water channels.

The land is estimated at 400 dunums. The decision came after Israeli settlers refused to allow the project to be built on an area under their control.

September 6, 1982

BUSY, BUSY

TEL AVIV — Israeli deputy-premier David Levy dedicated a new settlement suburb and erected the cornerstone of a sport stadium in the settlement town of Katzrin on the Golan Heights. The ceremony was held to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the settlement's establishment.

22 WOUNDED

TEL AVIV — ITIM, Israeli News Agency, reported that 22 Israeli soldiers were injured when fire broke out and explosions took place in their lorry south of Tyre in South Lebanon. The wounded soldiers received first aid from the soldiers of the French contingent of the multinational forces.

A helicopter later rushed five to Rambam Hospital in Haifa, while others were taken to hospitals in Nahariyeh. No reasons so far have been found for the blast.

LOTS OF SMOKE

JERUSALEM — A huge fire broke out in the Jerusalem forest and destroyed at least one hundred dunums of trees. The Jerusalem fire-brigade and

planes extinguished the fire before it spread to western parts of Jerusalem. Israel TV did not cite the cause of the fire.

ITALIAN SOLIDARITY

GAZA — A delegation from the Turin, Italy municipality visited the town of Gaza. The delegation expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The mayor of Turin, who is leaving to Beirut via Cyprus, is planning to invite West Bank and Gaza Strip mayors to attend the Mediterranean Municipalities' Conference. He is the head of Mediterranean Mayors' Council.

AFP quoted Turin mayor, Diego Novelli, as saying that his council is financing the treatment of one hundred people who were injured by phosphorous bombs during the war in Lebanon.

NABLUS CAMPS PROTEST

JERUSALEM — Residents of refugee camps in the Nablus area, Balata, Askar, Nur Shams and No. 1, held a second sit-in-strike at the UNRWA offices in Sheikh Jarrah, Jerusalem, to protest the decision of the general director of the UNRWA in Vienna to stop distribution of supplies to Palestinian refugees on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The suspension was ordered on the pretext of carrying out the emergency programme to aid people in Lebanon and of the financial deficit of the UNRWA. The strikers met with deputy-director of UNRWA operations and delivered a strong protest against the decision. They called on him to convey their protest to the general director in Vienna. They threatened that the residents of West Bank refugee camps will picket the UNRWA offices in Jerusalem if their demand is not met by September 11.

DISMISSALS OPPOSED

NABLUS — Najah University faculty met to discuss Israeli threats to deport three lecturers. A four-member committee was formed to follow up the issue. Another committee was formed to conduct consultations with the Council for Higher Education in the occupied territories.

Later the Israeli government legal advisor agreed to the request of Lawyer Lea Tsemel that two of the lecturers, Dr. Yusef Abdul Hag and Dr. Ibrain Khawajah, not be deported.

PUNISHMENT OVER

RAMALLAH — The military orders issued by the military governor of the West Bank closing the office of the Public Institutions Workers' Union and the women committees expired. The two sites were closed by Israeli authorities on the pretext of being involved in anti-Israel activities.

UP AND OVER

The Israeli authorities concerned decided to raise the fees of travel permits via the bridges and the transporation permits fees for drivers as of September 15, 1982.

SHAKA'A NAMESAKE

NABLUS — Construction of the Bassam Shaka'a Preparatory School for boys has been finished in Balata. The dedication ceremony of the new school is scheduled for the start of the new scholastic year. Mayor Shaka'a collected donations for the building while he was recovering at Hussein Medical Centre in Amman from a car bomb explosion two years ago.

BOMBS UNEARTHED

TEL AVIV — An explosive device was found near the industrial zone of Kalandia, 'Atarot.' The police defused it without injury or damage.

An arms cache of 14 Israeli army bombs was found during work on a bridge at Pat suburb, south of Jerusalem. Police were summoned to the place and removed the bombs.

PIECES OF ROCK

NABLUS — Vice-president of the US World Tourist Agency, arrived recently to negotiate buying land in the area of Mount Jirzim for a luxury hotel, park and bridge to connect the two peaks of Ibal and Jirzim mountains.

PIECES OF CAR

TEL AVIV — Israeli forces found a disassembled military vehicle in an orchard in Gaza. The car was apparently stolen to sell its parts separately, the police spokesman said.

Settlements expanding following Reagan's 'Fresh Start'/SF

September 7, 1982

MORE PRISONS

TEL AVIV — The Israeli cabinet endorsed a plan to build six new prisons to house 450 Palestinian detainees each.

TAWIL DENIES MEETING

AL-BIREH — Ibrahim Tawil . . . . . denied the report circulated by Agence France Presse, September 5, that he attended a meeting at the house of Rashad Shawwa. . . . . with delegation from Turin municipality in which Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem, was present.

AGAINST SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — A group from Peace Now Movement demonstrated in front of the Israeli Knesset to protest the establishment of Israeli settlements on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The movement threatens to hold demonstrations in every new settlement.

HOUSING FOR LEBANESE?

TEL AVIV — Israeli papers said that a 200-unit housing project will be built in Nazareth where Christian Lebanese will be allowed to buy apartments.

FASTER, BOYS

TEL AVIV — According to *Ha'aretz* Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon ordered the building of new settlements on the West Bank to proceed rapidly in light of the US President Ronald Reagan's initiative which called for solving the Palestinian problem by means of establishing a Palestinian entity connected to Jordan.

The paper said the defence ministry recently rented construction equipment and heavy tools from the Israeli construction company, Solel Boneh, in order to speed up opening new roads on the West Bank for erecting new settlements.

FEDAIYAT

Lebanese forces recently discovered a cell of Palestinian women fighters planning to carry out commando operations in Israeli-controlled areas. The arrested women are Palestinian refugees from Ain al-Hilweh camp, Sidon.

BOY SHEPHERD KILLED

BOKATA — Muhanna Hassan Abu Awad, from Bokata village in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, died when a land mine exploded in a field where he was grazing his sheep. Several people from the Golan, Galilee and Triangle have died as a result of land mine explosions in the last several months.

BANNED BOOKS

NABLUS — The education officer at the military government issued an order banning the distribution of a number of books published in Arabic by Lebanese and Egyptian companies.

The list includes the following books:

Faisal and Karameh Battle
Experience of an Arab in a Communist Party
Destroy Islam and Annihilate Its Followers
Islam in the face of the Creeping Red Cancer
The Arab World
Poetry is a Green Light
Muslims of the World Unite
The Defeated
Imported Solutions
The Other Homeland
The Anger
Trends in Arab Poetry
Islamic Movement in Iran
Lebanon on the Road to Future
Literature of Resistance
Arms of the Israeli Army
Israeli Occupation and Palestinian Resistance
Islam and Old Philosophies
Settlement Through the Geneva Conference
Work and Workers in Palestinian Camps,
Palestinians in Kuwait
House of Madness
Philosophy of Upbringing Among Palestinian People
Zionist Literature
Education of Palestinians — Problems and Facts
Jews of the World and Zionism
Palestinian Literature of Resistance
Lectures in Islamic Culture
War and Civilisation
Leila Without Lovers
Geography of the Islamic World

Sa'ir Voluntary Work

The youth committee for social work in Sa'ir, as in most towns and cities of the West Bank, performs services for their community on an almost weekly basis.

The Sa'ir Youth Committee began one year ago as a way to forge a cooperative spirit and serve the townspeople to compensate for the absence of any form of village government. A variety of projects won it the kind of grassroot support needed to carry it over many obstacles.

From January 1, 1982, the committee changed into high gear and increased the number and kind of projects. A five-member administrative committee was chosen to supervise the expanded plans and activities — from soccer to health. As part of this year's programme, the committee tried to organize local labour unions and made contacts with nearby national municipalities. It also scheduled soccer games with other West Bank clubs and arranged health lectures and free courses for *tawjihi* students.

The youth committee also:

*** cleared stones from the local schoolyard, built a wall around the school, swept the streets, cleaned the mosque area.**

*** planted 110 pine seedlings in the village cemetery.**

*** assisted Haj Abu 'Aish from Beit Ummar plant his land which he recovered from the authorities after expropriation.**

*** helped clean the ruins of the demolished homes in Beit Sahour.**

*** helped build a monument in the village square for two Sa'ir students killed during last spring's general uprising.**

*** arranged for a visit by Makassed Hospital medical team. The team saw 400 patients and distributed medicine for free.**

WHY DID ISRAEL INVADE LEBANON?

by Herzl Schubert

Herzl Schubert is a graduate student at Tel Aviv University, specialising in Zionist history during the British Mandate. He is active with the Bir Zeit Solidarity Committee and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon.

Schubert compiled the following article from news articles published in the Israeli press. It is an attempt, he says, to answer the question 'Why did Israel invade Lebanon?'

On Israel TV three months before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Professor Menahem Milson, chief Israeli civil administrator in the occupied territories, declared that the present war was the most important Israel had fought since 1948. (*Haaretz*, March 23). He was referring to the serious escalation of hostilities in the occupied territories, in the course of which dozens of Palestinian demonstrators were either killed or wounded by the Israeli armed forces or by armed Israeli settlers. (In April alone 17 Palestinians were killed and 196 were wounded. *Bamerchav*, June, and *Haaretz*, May 14.)

Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June is an escalated and highly critical stage in the war being waged by Israel against the Palestinian people. In my opinion, what we now see in Lebanon may not even be the tip of the iceberg. There may yet still be more to come.

Conditions in the Occupied Territories

I) For 15 years under Labour Alignment governments and since 1977 under Begin's Likud coalition government, the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and the Syrian Druse in the occupied Golan Heights have been living beyond the rule of law, and under military rule. That is the most central and important factor characterising the nature of the Israeli occupation. There are absolutely no judicial procedures in the occupied territories designed to guarantee the basic civil and human rights, not to speak of any of the non-Jewish inhabitants' national rights. I repeat: no such procedures exist. The people's property may be confiscated at will at any time; they may be exiled; they may be put under administrative arrest for years without being brought to trial and without any formal charges being placed on them. Their houses may be searched at will or demolished. Newspapers are censored, books are banned, and demonstrators shot at when protesting.

A long list of emergency regulations inherited by Israel from Britain in 1948, when Israel became a state, form the legal basis for all of the above-mentioned Israeli actions in the occupied territories. It is interesting to note that when Britain applied these security regulations also to the Jews (along with the Palestinian Arabs) during the late '40s, the Jewish community condemned Britain for denying their basic human rights and instituting a regime of arbitrariness. (*The Other Israel*, ed. Arie Bober, NY, 1972, p. 134).

Why Invasion?

II) Israel did not invade Lebanon — as official Israeli spokesmen would have us believe — because of the PLO's military threat to Israel's security in the north. The PLO has never either in the past or today posed a military threat to Israel's existence. Israel, largely owing to the United States' massive military and financial aid, is the unquestioned and unchallenged top military power in the whole region.

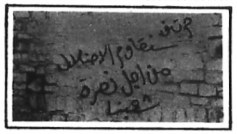
If it is true that the PLO's military build-up in Lebanon was a threat to Israel's security, then Israel's military fire-power is a threat to the whole Middle East. If it is true that the attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador to London, Argov, justified the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, then by the very same logic the assassination of the British mediator Lord Moyne in 1944 by the Israeli underground organisation "Lehi," one of whose leaders was the current Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, would then have justified a British reprisal against the Jewish national home, such as the bombing of Tel Aviv and its blockade. (See letter to the editor, "Moyne, Von Rath, Argov," by Moshe Ben Horin, *Haaretz*, June 16).

The invasion of Lebanon has one sole and principle objective: dealing a death blow to the Palestinian Arab nationalist movement, to its whole organisational structure; and possibly even succeeding in annihilating the movement's leadership. When Israeli Chief of Staff, Raphael Eitan, one of the three major figures conducting this war, along with Sharon and Begin, recently stated in the papers that the war in Beirut was none other than the struggle for the Land of Israel, he was naturally right. "Our presence in Lebanon," declared the chief of staff, "serves the struggle for the Land of Israel. It is a war against the principle enemy that has been fighting us for Eretz Israel for 100 years." (*Haaretz*, July 9).

In its invasion of Lebanon, Israel hopes to do crippling and irreparable damage to any organised Palestinian opposition to its policies in the occupied territories. From the perspective of all of the Israeli administrations' policies and attitudes towards Palestinians, the invasion of Lebanon was logical, carefully planned in advance and most certainly not a spontaneous reaction either to the attempted assassination, or to the shelling of Israeli settlements in the northern Galilee.

Sharon, in an interview in June to the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot*, stated that he had been planning this operation since coming into office as defence minister — that is for almost a year. (*Yediot Ahronot*, June 18). Close associates of Sharon's have been quoted in the press saying that Sharon wove the dream of this operation immediately after the "Litani Operation" in 1978. (Eitan Haber, *Yediot Ahronot*, June 7).

For several months prior to the invasion, Israel had, by a series of oppressive acts, deposed most of the democratically elected Palestinian mayors (elected in 1976) in such cities as al-Bireh, Nablus, Ramallah, Jenin, Gaza and Qalqilya. The mayors of Gaza and Qalqilya were deposed during the invasion. (*Maariv*, April 14 . *Al Hamishmar*, March 22). The National Guidance Committee, representing all of the PLO factions in the occupied territories, was also recently dissolved. (D. Rubinstein, *New Outlook*, June-July 1982).



A well-known Israeli historian, Prof. Yehoshua Porath, has correctly pointed out in a recent article (*Haaretz*, June 25) that Israel's invasion of Lebanon was brought on because the PLO had successfully kept up the ceasefire that was reached in July, 1981. For more than a year there were no shellings across the borders. Yasir Arafat had proven that he could control all factions of the PLO. This development had serious political implications for the current Israeli administration. If Arafat was able to speak for the whole PLO and uphold an agreement, then this would certainly weaken Israel's incessant claim that the PLO was a group of wild terrorists who could not be considered legitimate partners for negotiations.

The ceasefire thus had the effect of enhancing the legitimacy of the PLO as a responsible political body, and this was extremely dangerous for the Israeli government. The dynamics of such a development could very well have brought on world-wide pressure at some point in the future towards negotiations between Israel and the PLO on the future of the occupied territories.

The PLO has indeed made some striking diplomatic progress in the past eight years. Israel's major effort during that same period has been aimed at depicting the PLO as terrorists who stand behind an international conspiracy of terror. The PLO is Satan on Earth, the PLO are Nazis, and Arafat has been presented on numerous occasions, especially by Begin, as the new Hitler. (*Haaretz*, June 15; *Yediot Ahronot*, July 18). Associations with the premeditated murder of six million Jews by the barbarous Nazi regime are being used as a tool by Israeli leaders in their attempts to keep control of the occupied territories. If Arafat is Hitler, and the PLO members are Nazis or "two-legged animals" as Begin has recently stated, (*Yediot Ahronot*, July 18) then anything done to them is legitimate and negotiations with them are naturally absurd.

Official government spokesmen have stated on several occasions that the invasion of Lebanon as well as the recent escalation in the occupied territories are aimed at the PLO alone and not at the Palestinian people in general. In reality, however, Israel's oppressive policies have made the two inseparable.

In two recent public opinion polls, taken in the occupied territories, more than 85 percent of those interviewed considered the PLO their representative. (*Al Fajr*, English, April 23-29). The wide support given the PLO by the Palestinians in the occupied territories has, in my opinion, nothing to do with the identification or acceptance of the PLO's political programme. It is rather an identification with the PLO as a symbol. The symbol is one of Palestinian Arab resistance to Israel's aims of Judaising their homeland. Under conditions which absolutely forbid any form of legal opposition such as political parties or trade unions; when arbitrary confiscations threaten Palestinian economic existence; when no form of Palestinian national expression is permitted — isn't it logical that the majority of the Palestinians identify with and support the PLO? Were the situation theoretically reversed wouldn't the Jews identify with their version of the PLO?

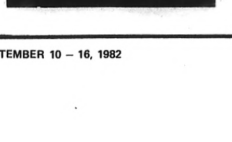
All Palestinians are by definition potentially PLO members. Nothing exemplifies this situation better than the fact that when Israeli forces entered any of the six Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, all of the able-bodied men between 14 and 45 (or as has been reported in the press, all the able-bodied men of 14 to 90), were assembled at a central point for interrogations and identifications. (D. Rubinstein, *Davar*, July 2; Hame'iri, *Yediot Ahronot*, July 13).

One of the Israeli officers who participated in the fighting in Lebanon has described one such scene. "You take a whole population, take them out of their homes and put them in camps; we don't force them to carry the yellow patches but every Palestinian is suspected of being a terrorist, and according to our definition it is true." (Amir Oren, *Davar*, June — "A Talk With a 30-Year-Old Paratrooper").

Considering the character of Israeli actions in the refugee camps in Lebanon and considering Israeli policies in the occupied territories, how can we take seriously any of the official military and government statements to the effect that Israel is directing its war only against the PLO?

From the perspective of the current Israeli policies towards the Palestinians, Lebanon is only one stage in the total war that Israel is waging not against the PLO, but against the whole Palestinian people. Moreover, I believe that the climax of this war hasn't yet been reached!

When Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon says repeatedly that the Palestinians shouldn't forget 1948, his hint is all too clear (D. Rubinstein, *Davar*, February 26,; A. Kapeliuk, *Al Hamishmar*, April 16). What Sharon is talking about is the possibility of mass expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territtories. When Sharon, Prime Minister Begin and Foreign Minister Shamir repeatedly declare that Jordan is the Palestinian state, they are not only arrogantly questioning the sovereignty of an independent Arab state, but are actually pointing out the direction in which Palestinian Arabs may be expelled in the future. These threats and warnings coming from Israeli leaders must be taken seriously. Expulsion of Palestinians has taken place before and today there is an atmosphere in Israel in which expulsion may occur again.



In the second week of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, a reporter writing in the *Haaretz* daily reminded his readers of the origin of the Palestinian Arab refugees in Lebanon. Until 1948 when the State of Israel was founded, these refugees lived in the northern Galilee in such now non-existent Arab villages as Safuri, Gesher al-Ziv, Safsufa, Kabri, and al-Nahar. (*Haaretz*, June 14).

An estimated 750,000 Palestinian Arabs became refugees during and immediately after the founding of the state of Israel. A part of that population was forced to leave. The former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has, in his recently published book, mentioned the expulsion of the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants in the cities of Lydda and Ramle (Pinkas Shernt, Tel Aviv, 1979, Vol. 1)

In a tale called *Hirbet Hize* published as early as 1949, Izhar Smilansky, a well-known Israeli author, tells of an imaginary Arab village and about the expulsion of its inhabitants. (Izhar Smilansky, *Seven Stories*, Hakibbutz Hame-uchad). In 1978 Smilansky's book made headlines in the Israeli press as a result of Israel's public television's intentions to film the story. Interviewed in one of the Israeli dailies early in 1978, Smilansky declared that his story *Hirbert Hize* was based on incidents that had actually occurred in several Arab villages in the south, incidents which he had witnessed while serving as an intelligence officer in the 1948 war. (*Yediot Ahronot* February 9, 1978).

Ezer Weizmann, former Israeli defenceminister, has repeatedly attacked the hypocrisy prevalent in Israeli society, used as a means for evading reality as regards the methods used by Israel to acquire some of the Palestinian Arab land. (*Haaretz*, March 23, 1972). Anyone looking at a map of Palestine immediately prior to the 1948 war and comparing his findings with a map of Israel several years later, would discover more than 300 missing Arab villages! Discussions which took place in the cabinet of the Israeli government during and immediately following the war concerning the newly created Palestinian refugee problem, the fate of their property, and the categorical Israeli refusal to permit these refugees to return are all well documented. (See for example, *My Diaries and Letters*, by Joseph Weitz, Massada, Tel Aviv, 1965, Vol. 3. Weitz was head of the Department of Land and Forestry in the Keren Ha-Kayemet from 1932. He took an extremely active role in all government discussions.)

A large number of the Palestinian population of approximately 450,000 living in the Gaza Strip today, are refugees and have lived in the refugee camps since 1948. Jabalya, for example, the largest of these camps, has an estimated population of 40-45,000 people. During 1969-1970, three years after the Israeli occupation, military authorities in cooperation with an identified body, conducted an operation aimed at 'thinning out' the Palestinian population inhabiting the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. This incident was reported in the Israeli press. According to the Israeli journalist Yehuda Litani's sources — top ranking Israeli military officials — the whole project was considered a failure. It seems that only an estimated 10-20,000 Palestinian refugees did in fact leave. In return for a signed document promising never to return these refugees received a plane ticket and an undisclosed sum of money. (Y. Litani, *Haaretz*, October 28, 1980).

Zevulon Hammer is a leader of the National Religious Party in Israel (Mafdal). Interviewed several years ago in one of the Israeli dailies he voiced the opinion that a partial solution to the demographic problem caused by the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza could be Israeli offers to the inhabitants living in these territories to emigrate. (Dan Margalit, *Haaretz*, March 1, 1974). Today Zevulon Hammer is the Israeli Minister of Education in Begin's government.

Professor Yuval Ne'eman is a well-known Israeli physicist. A former president of Tel Aviv University, he is a member of the ultra-rightist Tehiya Party (Rennaissance) and is one of its three representatives in the Israeli parliament. On July 26, 1982 he joined Begin's government as Minister of Science and Development. Interviewed in the press last year Ne'eman lamented the disappointing fact that the Israeli army did not exploit the opportunity of emptying the Gaza Strip of its inhabitants during the Yom Kippur war. (Tom Segev, *Haaretz*, June 18, 1981).

Mordechai Zipori is a member of Begin's party Herut, and is the current Israeli Minister of Transportation and Communication. In response to the Syrian Druse strike against the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights, Zipori declared that all those who were not satisfied with the annexation could cross over to Syria. (See *Davar*, February 26).

Aharon Yariv is currently head of the Department of Strategic Studies at the University of Tel Aviv. He is also a general in Israel's reserve army and is now military spokesman for the Israeli army. Speaking at a symposium held at the University of Jerusalem two years ago, Yariv mentioned the intentions of unidentified officials to implement the expulsion of 700-800,000 Palestinians from the occupied territories in the course of a future war. (Y. Litani, *Haaretz*, October 28, 1980).

In the light of Israel's history of 'encouraging the Palestinians to leave' and in the light of some of the past and present statements made by Israeli ministers, the possibility of thousands and perhaps even more being expelled at the first opportunity may not be at all far-fetched.

Such an opportunity may indeed arise when the first signs of an armed rebellion in the occupied territories become visible. Strikes and demonstrating youth throwing stones at Israeli military personnel and Jewish settlers have, until now, constituted the more overt forms of Palestinian opposition to Israeli oppression in the occupied territories.

So far only stones have been thrown and unless some drastic change occurs in Israeli attitudes and policies towards the Palestinians it is, in my opinion, only a question of time before shots are fired at the Israeli soldiers and settlers by some of the demonstrators. Israeli policies are driving Palestinians in the occupied territories to take up arms and rebel openly and if and when that happens the Israeli response may indeed be expulsion.

(Ed. note: All dates are 1982 unless specified otherwise.)

KNOW PALESTINE:

Abracadabra - And Zeeb Becomes Ahsiv

by Anna Bodmer

Seen from the distance of its southern coast off Nahariyeh, 'Ahsiv' stands like an ancient guard station. Centuries-old stone buildings in fortress formation impose their mystical power over the ghosts of invading sea-marauders. The turquoise sparkle of Mediterranean waters stretch out from 'Ahsiv's' shore to the dark blue horizon, adding splendour to fairy-tale charm.

Up close where one can distinguish the characters in the tale, it seems that the plot has been updated: *the gentry* — now international jet-setters of Club Mediterranee on a smooth sand beach; *the serfs* — *the Lord of*

Archeological grave-digging stirs public controversy between religious and secular Israeli Jews, but when archeology is connected to 'Palestinian politics' its discussion is a 'security risk.'

I visited 'Ahsiv' Park, uninformed of its particular history. I saw the ancient buildings and wanted to know about its past.

I found three gardeners at lunch-break, all Druse villagers from Hanuh. I told them I was a journalist and wanted to know about the village's history.

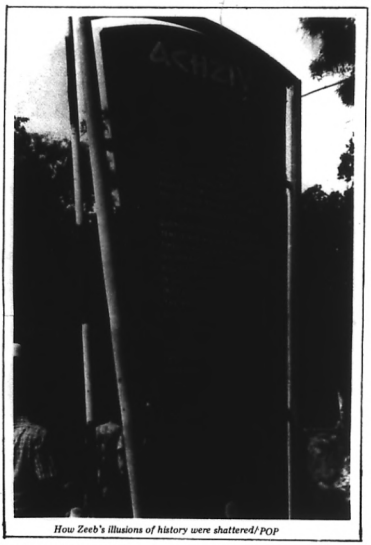
The eldest man told me he was 12 in 1948 so he could not remember how the village looked before the war. "We were small then and when we came later, we saw it just as it is," he explained as his co-workers eyed me with curiosity — or suspicion.

"Hanuh is a mountain village, we grow olives and tobacco," he continued, carefully. He admitted much of the village's land was confiscated by the Israeli state, but that he was a loyal patriot "to my country." The uncomfortable conversation ended.

As I started to take pictures of 'Ahsiv,' I noticed the elderly gardener watching from a distance. A soldier came up and asked what I was doing. "Taking pictures of these old buildings," I answered.

As I was leaving, a young Israeli man approached me. "Why are you asking about these buildings? Why were you talking to those men?" I was rescued by an Israeli woman who later told me the man, probably security, had complained about my interview and photography.

A normal tourist exercise, yet photographing 'ruins' in a public park draws suspicion in Israel.



How Zeeb's illusions of history were shattered/POP

Ahsiv-land — one-time nightclub-owner cum-real-estate-developer, Eli Aviv; *the palace guard* — a lone Israeli soldier; *the estate gardeners* — three Arabs from Hanuh village; and *the caretakers* — members of kibbutz Mazzuva.

Perhaps we need an introduction to tie the ancient and modern tales together. A blue and yellow sign characteristic of "preserved historical or archeological sites" explains in Hebrew and English that this ages-old site was 'liberated' in 1948.

But, as with all fairy tales, you cannot believe them if you know reality. Part of 'Ahsiv's' reality is how it was 'found' and how the old-new tale around it was woven.

"Zeeb Station!"

Before 1948, Zeeb was a relatively prosperous Arab fishing-farming village of 1000-1500 inhabitants, one train stop south of Ras al-Naqura on the Lebanon-Palestine line. During the war, most villagers fled north across the border to Lebanon. The choice was easy: to the south settlements of armed Zionist forces, to the north nothing but open road.

Khalid Sa'adi still has the original deed *(tabu)* to his grandfather's land but a second document, in the name of the Custodian of Absentee Properties, indicates the land has reverted to state-ownership. The Sa'adi family eventually accepted the compensation offered by the Israeli government — a smaller plot of land in Mazra'a, property of a Palestinian family who fled to Lebanon.

When Khalid Sa'adi visits Zeeb (Ahsiv) to inspect the mosque, he remembers the central importance of the building to village life. "The mosque was not only the holy place, but men gathered there and people brought mattresses to relax in the adjacent village square." Today when Khalid Sa'adi visits, he is likely to find several sunbathers spread out by the mosque and meat grilling at the edge of the village square.

The villagers left behind buildings and 'archeological finds' from the Phoenician era, newly-built bungalows along the shore, citrus groves and fruit orchards, vegetable gardens. They left the sea and sun and superb coastline, a picnic spot well-known to Palestinians from inland villages and towns

30 Years

Turning Zeeb into Ahsiv took three decades. In the '50s, the 'decade of preservation,' the Israeli government destroyed agricultural areas, uprooted trees, bulldozed coast-line homes. Parts of the oldest houses, the mosque and village square on the hill, and the mukhtar's solid home set back from the shore on lower ground were all that were kept — to prove that the village was *really* ancient and *really* deserted long ago.

An Israeli entrepreneur, Eli Aviv, laid historic claim to the area in the '60s, set up a nightclub (reputedly for illicit activities) and declared himself lord of the independent state 'Ahsiv-land.' His short-lived claims did not fit into the Labour government's plans and after a much-publicised political-legal battle Aviv managed to keep the *mukhtar* Atayeh's house for a small rental fee along with a collection of fossils and other rocks of archeological interest from the village.

In the '70s, Club Mediterranee took a choice piece of beachfront — where Zeeb's residents had built homes during the WWII period. The highland area with the ancient buildings was developed into a family camp-site and beach, and put in the care of kibbutz Mazzuva whose members operate the parking lot.

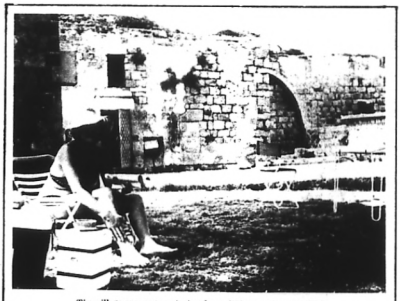
Zeebawis

There are few 'Zeebawis' (Zeeb residents) left in Palestine. One or two families live in Mazra'a and three live in Acre, according to local sources.

Khalid Sa'adi, 60, takes a special interest in Zeeb and maintains the village mosque. Though a native of Acre, Zeeb was his second home. His grandfather owned 40 dunums of land and a house in the village — the house pillars can still be seen standing on the hill.

"There was a typical town-country relationship between Acre-Haifa and Zeeb. People from the towns owned land in the village; Zeeb's shopkeepers would come often into town to buy goods. "As I remember," Khalid Sa'adi adds, 'there was no weekly market in the village as there was in most of rural Palestine."

Zeeb fishermen sold their catch in Acre and to inland villages. Beginning in the '30s, the citrus growers transported most of their harvest to Lebanon or exported to England. Citrus groves soon replaced traditional olive orchards as a more profitable crop and indeed the village prospered with the introduction of citrus. Deep-wells drawing water from nearby Kabri supplemented sweet-water wells and made irrigation possible.



The village mosque: catering for a different clientele/POP

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Partitioning done — land, countries, capitals. Long experience. Call Mr. Begin.

— Will topple governments.

The Reagan initiative, the Fez summit and the continuing clashes in Lebanon all dominated foreign news pages this week. Locally, the papers focussed on the fatal shooting of two youths in Nablus and Tulkarm – the first by soldiers, the second by settlers.

The Israeli government announcement of a plan to build eight new settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza was also carried in the local press. On the editorial pages, the Palestinian papers called on the Arab countries to take a firm stand to confront the latest US and Israeli schemes.

REAGAN'S SURPRISE

Can we call the principles that Ronald Reagan declared yesterday concerning the future of the West Bank and Gaza an unexpected surprise?

This is the first question that should be raised in discussing his ideas. The question that then springs is: What are the circumstances and background behind these thoughts?

No doubt the Lebanon war was the primary factor behind what they call the Reagan initiative . . . the Americans want to offer something to their Arab collaborators whose convictions were toppled during this war.

Let us ask, with open hearts and minds (lest the classical accusation be raised that the Palestinians reject everything before having even heard or read it) . . . let us ask . . . What, if anything, is new in Reagan's thoughts? But before this, we must ask what do our people want . . . The answer is heard by all who meet Palestinians — we want our legitimate right to self-determination.

Does Reagan's initiative achieve anything in this field? The immediate answer is no . . . Reagan is still moving within the Camp David framework which denies the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people. It views this people as incapable of running their own affairs or of deciding their fate, nor do they even deserve this right, since Reagan has declared his opposition to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Reagan is trying, through his 'initiative,' to develop the Jordanian option within the Camp David framework, with the aim of offering it as the sole solution. No matter that it contradicts all historical facts and ignores all changes since 1967, as well as our legitimate right to self-determination.

While Reagan declares his opposition to the annexation by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza and to its continued sovereignty over them, he explains that the borders will not be what they were on June 6, 1967. He is still caught in the circle of 'occupied territories' or 'THE occupied territories' contained in the British and French interpretation of Resolution 242.

Reagan declares his opposition to the establishment or expansion of settlements in the West Bank, but he does not talk about the illegitimacy of these settlements. Neither does he talk about the American role in building them through vast financial aid to Israel, as well as unlimited political and military support.

Reagan attempts, with the Jordanian option, to turn the hands of history back. It is doomed to failure, because it contradicts the live present. In addition, Israel declared yesterday it rejects the US president's ideas. Is the US prepared to pressure Israel if the latter builds more settlements or annexes the West Bank and Gaza?

'Reagan's initiative' forms a part of Camp David.

No . . . Mr. Ronald Reagan. Your new rotten goods find no buyers here.

AL SHAAB
September 3

SHARON'S REPLY

While the echos of US President Reagan's speech are still reverberating in international and Arab diplomatic circles, and while many leaders in these circles are still talking of 'positive' points in this speech, like the demand for stopping Israeli settlement on occupied Arab territory, the Israeli ministerial committee for settlement affairs, headed by Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, has decided to set up seven new settlements in different areas of the West Bank and Gaza.

While these 'positive' points in Reagan's speech do not go beyond written and verbal expression, with no thought of implementation, the Israeli government extends its practical annexation of occupied Arab territory by planting more new settlements and expanding existing ones . . .

The Israeli decision taken yesterday, which will be implemented by the use of bulldozers wiping out buildings and homes, simply means that any American or European initiative is not worth the paper on which it is written as long as it cannot be implemented.

Those who now gasp and pant for the necessity of 'accepting' Reagan's initiative, must understand that their acceptance or rejection does not mean anything as long as Israel dominates the occupied territories and alone possesses the means to behave as it wants in this land.

AL FAJR
September 6

BUTT OUT

Through their long and bitter experience and throughout their dealings with the Arab regimes, the Palestinian people have been determined to remain Palestinian. This does not stem from a provincial view point, but takes in all the dimensions of circumstances and surroundings as well as the continual desire to strengthen their alliance with the Arab peoples. The example of the Palestinian-Lebanese cohesion is outstanding as the Palestinian people's proposal for true Arab solidarity.

Say what one wants there is one result: the Arab leaders meeting in Fez do not have the right, in any way, to intervene in the Palestinian issue. They do not have the right and neither will our people allow them to try to impose their policies on them. We did not divest them of this right, they themselves renounced it. Those who stood and watched what happened to our people and to the Lebanese people in Lebanon . . . Those who participated in what happened with no more than submissiveness, cowardice and hesitation, do not have the right to give us advice. They do not have the right to tell us what we should or should not do.

Merely holding a summit after three months of the Lebanon war, is in itself enough to withdraw any trust or friendship from the regimes.

We, however, do not renounce our deep-rooted Arabness . . . This depth is not represented by the impotent Americanised regimes, but lies with the Arab peoples who will be developed when they obtain their freedom from their dictatorial rulers. True Arab solidarity is indeed wonderful.

If the rulers of the regimes wanted to deny their conspiracy and cowardice (which is unlikely!) then the alternative is a strategy of confrontation with the United States, which is not within the capabilities of the oil sheiks and the Arabs of America.

The weakest belief is to withdraw and be content with support of the Palestinian position in any idea coming from the international arena in connection with the Palestinian issue.

AL SHAAB
September 6

FEZ TODAY

Arab kings and heads of states held their 12th conference in Fez yesterday, exchanging smiles and pleasantries, proving to all who watched them on television that all is well in the Arab world ! . . . that the Arab nation is living its finest hour . . . that the Arab peoples enjoy freedom and independence and national integrity and that actual, not verbal, solidarity prevails in the Arab world.

It is no secret that ordinary Arabs are asking themselves, while watching the Arab leadership, is all this really true or is the picture quite different and actually indicates the opposite?

It is unwise to pre-empt events, even if the results are always linked to reasons. we hope that the summit conference will emerge from its previous pattern and will yield practical results in the interests of the Arab peoples. We hope it will not be a club for achieving more prostration in the embrace of the enemies of the Arab nation and opening the doors wide for enforced solution.

The huge threats and dangers which face our Arab nation call for resolutions that can meet them. Implementation is the sole tool for confrontation.

The Arab peoples have had enough resolutions and speeches and yearn for action . . . serious, honest action . . . is this possible?

AL FAJR
September 7

WORDS TOMORROW

We do not ask miracles from the Fez summit . . . we just want an answer to one question . . . Do you want to remain or not to remain? If the answer is: of course we want to remain, then it is important to condense the whole Arab strategic situation to include a mobilisation of Arab energy sources in the support of Arab will to reject hostile attempts against Arab rights . . . a strategy inspiring political awe in our people and curbing those who try to impose their domination over them, their soil and their heritage.

We want the Fez summit to try and translate the number of words and speeches and promises into effective action. We want a serious Arab stand towards the US to force it to respect our rights and to make it understand that the region is not another one of its states.

What we expect from the Fez summit is the revised text of previous summits . . . words . . . words . . . words.

AL SHAAB
September 8

The Philosophical Kingdom of Chicks

by Farouk Munib

Dr Abd al-Maksoud stopped suddenly in the middle of the poultry farm. Ten years that he has been living in one single fashion. He was fed up with this tedious and monotonous life. He played with the money in the pocket of his *aroual*. He whispered to himself with grief! You won't need money anymore, Doctor Abd al-Maksoud. Your financial capital is abundant and will suffice you for your whole life, and even more. Here is your successful project which realises for you huge profits. With this you live, you live in a merciless and destructive void. What had happened? Was it a calamity falling upon him after a long while of happiness?

Doesn't the noise of the hatcheries make you feel happy? It works day and night in a constant and incessant round. This is the country in which you were meant to reside all your life. Your friends are still in the university, suffering the pains and hardships of teaching.

In the beginning you were transcending the position lifting your aspiration to the highest peak. To be or not to be. This was the case: either you became a big philosopher, apeing the situation of the East and its worries, or you left philosophy to its masters.

Do you remember this lecture in the university when you would sit behind the microphone? Then you would deliver the lecture to the students. It was your wide kingdom. The attention and the faces of the students turned towards you in desire; you would feel exhilarated. Where are the days of Aristotle and Plato? You were free and happy. Your days were filled with the voices of the girls and young men craving for knowledge. Did you forget your book which upset the circles of thinkers? The plague of the East! Cause and consequence and the emergence from it.

The Arab mind was stagnant and sluggish. And if with your words, you would wake up the sleepers? How could you have come to thinking of leaving the university? Then you devoted yourself to independent research on the schools of philosophy: existentialism, Marxism, metaphysics, materialism, pragmatism. Left and right in Islam. The problem of fate and choice in Mutazila's time.

Then how did you leave all that? Now you stand confused in the midst of the chickens craving for food. The feed hasn't arrived yet. Those sons-of-dogs of traders in the black market have raised the price. What is this huge crack in your stable kingdom? You stand at the point of no return, bare except for sorrows, anxieties and sufferings. The past for you is mere history and memory. As for the present, brought on the pinnacle of success. Then what do you want from the world? It is foolish to dwell on your past dreams.

He rose to the competing voices of the chickens. How much he loves these voices! For every voice these eggs, for every egg a chick, for every chick some piastres in his pocket. He walked by the chicken house and saw the stacks of eggs buried in the straw, the workers busy gathering them and placing them in the incubating machines. Every morning, every tour, he was meditating on everything. He had aquired an extensive expertise in the diseases and breeding of chickens. He could tell the weak from the strong ones. He could discern one kind of feed in the wood feeders from another.

The veterinarian behind him, the sun of January was warming his body, but his mind was boiling from inside. How were your dreams shuttered, Abd al-Maksoud? You soon got lost in the crowd.

You were walking in the street, pondering, your mind rich of fertile thoughts. How sweet were the days of bright hope! You were swimming with a strange skillfulness in the river of humanity and its history. You were clothed with the personalities of great philosophers, their movements and rests. You were researching the roots of their growth, their development and influence. Your dream was to leave an imprint on the history of the philosophy in the East, and there you are, producing thousands of eggs a day. If only you had specialised in the history of birds, their diseases and production. Furthermore, you mixed philosophy and birds in another game.

He said to the veterinarian: "What do you do with the delay of the feed?" The veterinarian said: "You can buy it at the new price."

Doctor Abd al-Maksoud said: "How about the chicken that we isolated yesterday?"

"We'll maintain the isolation until we see the situation clearly." "And the condition of the new chicks?"

"We'll try to increase the warmth in the winter," answered the veterinarian.

"Did the new machine arrive?" asked the Doctor.

"We'll receive it in a week."

"And the number of eggs yesterday?

"Five thousand." Doctor Abd al-Maqsoud left the farm for the house. He let himself down in a comfortable armchair. He emptied a glass of whiskey with ice.

This was the room he liked. He hadn't changed it since the time he was teaching at the university. It still had fragrances of Plato, Aristotle, Karl Marx, Ibn Rushd, Al Farabi . . .

He got up and took his old publication. He read the dedication: *To all those who like the East and want to change its condition.* Part one, 'To Whom it May Concern,' the second, 'Variation on a Theme,' 'Coming Out of the Crisis,' 'The End and the Salvation.' He hadn't read a philosophy book in 10 years.

"What has happened to you, Abd al-Maksoud? Is the Arab mind still as you left it? Who's the most important Arab philosopher today?" He couldn't answer anything. It didn't matter. We all contribute to the ignorance. Who runs the show? After the first gulp of whiskey he whispered, filled with frustration. "Leave me alone, people. I got lost, thank God, 10 years ago. This environment is not suitable for a philosopher like me. I, today, am a chicken, a hatcher, a bit of feed."

Searching for it in the black market makes me dizzy. Everything except this is useless. Like catching the wind. Me and the other. Away with philosophy forever. And long live the chicks of gold. This is my philosophy, and that is all.

The noise of the hatchers mixed with the cheeping of the chicks. He emptied the rest of glass of whiskey in his throat. He said, smiling sarcastically. "It doesn't matter that we go back. That we go back . . . The philosophical kingdom of the chicks has lived. Even if only for a while."

Translated From
Al Bayader, July 20

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR GETS TWO MONTHS

Tank unit Corporal Eli Gozansky, a 20 year old soldier in the regular Israeli army, has been jailed for the third time for refusing to serve in Lebanon for reasons of conscience. After already serving two 14-day terms in jail, Gozansky was sentenced to a further 28 days on August 29.

On September 6 Gozansky's parents, along with an officer and a reserve soldier, held a group press conference to demand Eli's release and to publicise the growing movement of conscientious objectors to the war in Lebanon. The conference was sponsored by *Yesh Gvul* ('there is a limit') a group of 348 Israeli reserve soldiers who have signed a petition objecting to military service in Lebanon and demanding the withdrawal of all Israeli soldiers.

Dozens of reservists have refused to take part in the war, meeting different fates, some have been imprisoned and others simply stationed elsewhere. Two members of Yesh Gvual have been sentenced to 14- and 28-day terms in jail for refusing to serve in Lebanon. The most prominent objector of the war has been Colonel Eli Geva, a commander of a tank brigade who refused to enter west Beirut and was therefore discharged from the army, July 26.

Gozansky's parents, Tamar and Yoram, told the press that Eli's problem "is not just his personal problem" but is indicative of a political dispute throughout the army and the county.

Eli Gozansky was one of the "Group of 27," a group of secondary schools students who refused military duty in the occupied territories in 1979. One member Gadi Elgazi, was imprisoned for reason of conscience, for 12 months for his refusal. Eli, however, was permitted to serve within the 1948 borders of Israel, as the group had requested.

For 1½ years Gozansky served in the Negev area, in the south, but on July 25 was posted to a new unit in Lebanon. When he objected, his division adjutant transferred him again to the southern commander but the military personnel head there refused the transfer request and posted him back to Lebanon. Gozansky refused the order and was imprisoned for 14 days in the south. After two days of

Corporal Eli Gozansky

inquiries about transfer following his release, the corporal was sentenced to another 14 days in Sarafand military jail. His current term expires September 25 after which he will be entitled to legal council.

Tamar Gozansky, Eli's mother, said her son was taught "that it is not enough to believe in something but one must act according to one's conscience."

BBC veteran correspondent Micheal Elkins tried to pose the question that in a democracy it was legal for her son to be punished since he had violated a military order. Mrs. Gozansky replied, "We don't want an army of robots who do not ask questions. The problem is when your conscience is in contradiction with these orders. The democratic state of Israel," she pointed out, "was very tolerant of the Gush Emunim in Yamit, for example, where no one was punished for pouring oil on soldiers. A one-sided democracy can lead to an undemocratic state."

Yesh Gvul is an *ad hoc* organisation formed in the early days of the war to support soldiers whose conscience doesn't allow them to follow certain orders. Most members have refused to serve in Lebanon. At the press conference, movement spokesman made pleas to the media to publicise the moral questions surrounding service in the current war to allow proper public debate to take place.

ANTI - WAR RALLIES CONTINUE

A large number of Israelis attended a public meeting August 29 in Tel Aviv, called by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon and the publishers of a petition "Enough." The purpose of the meeting, said its organizers, is to educate the Israeli public about the nature of the ongoing war.

Over 4000 people had put their signatures on the anti-war petition "Enough," and some of them attended the meeting.

The audience was addressed by two members of the Committee Against the War, Tami Berger and Itzhaq Laor, and a Palestinian unionist.

Tami Berger, who toured France during the war with an Israeli anti-war delegation, summarised various discussions held with French progressives about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. "Several meetings were attended by French officials," she said, "including representatives of the French foreign affairs ministry."

Berger added that one of the distinguished participants of one of their meetings was Yasir Abed Rabbo, PLO Executive Committee member and head of PLO Unified Information. The PLO official said "our struggle concerns all the peoples of the world," she reported. "Abed Rabbo affirmed that the PLO can reorganise in a short period and will continue with mass organisation and not resort to terrorism."

Berger told the Tel Aviv audience that Israel will wage another war against the PLO and Syria but, according to Abed Rabbo, "they will not break our will in the occupied territories," where the Palestinian people are "against autonomy." Berger interpreted the McClosky statement signed by PLO chairman Arafat during the war: "the PLO agree to all UN resolutions regarding the Palestinian question, but Resolution 242 does not concern the Palestinian people." According to Berger, PLO spokesman Abed Rabbo concluded optimistically that a "Palestinian state will be set up in the occupied territories."

In his talk, the unionist said that the Palestinian masses look hopefully for a burgeoning peace force in Israel. Quoting Sharon who said that "after the war in Lebanon, war will start in the West Bank," the unionist commented that the war in the West Bank has already started. He gave as an example the attacks on national institutions such as the municipalities, unions and universities, specifically pointing to military order 854 as a gross violation of academic freedom.

Itzhaq Laor expressed the Israeli progressives shock over what used to be a hypothetical problem and became factual after the war. "We used to hear hints about the collaboration of the Lebanese Phalangists and Israeli plan — but now it is obvious."

Laor demanded that the Israeli public break their silence or hesitation and actively condemn what they see as wrong.

"We should cut all connection with the murderers," he said. "The Israeli government helped legitimise its war by accusing any Israeli supporter of a Palestinian state of being a traitor."

Laor pointed out that the war in Lebanon was strictly in the serivce of the US, which he described as "new for Israel." He stated that "the war is against progress and progressives."

The participants resolved to form committees to follow up on the war and its consequences by keeping the Israeli public informed about the war and its effects and results. They scheduled to reconvene every first Wednesday of the month.

ANOTHER -BAD SCHOOL YEAR

About 200,000 · · · · · · · · students in Israel were not off to a new start as they began the current scholastic year.

A shortage of schoolrooms and the poor conditions of a large part of the existing schools have been major problems in the education system for · · · · · · · · for the last 34 years. The Israeli ministry of education admitted last year that 3000 classrooms were required in the 'Arab sector.' But · · · · · · · · local councils put the figure at 5000 rooms.

In early 1982 several schools declared strikes and others were forced to teach outside under trees because of the shortage in facilities. The problem was 'remedied' by simply raising the number of students per class to 35-42.

In Zalafeh village, about 160 pupils still study under the trees. They do not fit in the single eight-room elementary school and eleven rented rooms which are totally unsuited for study.

In Arabeh village, in the Triangle, the local parents committee called a strike in its two schools, September 1, after the ministry of education reneged on its promise of rehabilitating the two schools and building toilet facilities.

In the Galilee village of Arrabeh several teachers were forced to conduct classes outside for two days until the school administration could organise a place for them. "The conditions of the schools in Arrabeh are tragic in the full sense of the word," said Abdel Raouf, a member of the Arrabeh local council.

There are 3000 elementary school students in Arrabeh and only one high school which enrolls 600 students. Since the local council has not received funds to build a new elementary school, it has opened a makeshift school whose 25 rooms are scattered in different parts of the village. Libraries, play yards and assembly halls are nonexistent.

Nazareth schools face a shortage of 200 rooms, Umm al-Fahm, 75, Kufr Yasif, 11 'Ar'ara, 9, Taybeh, 18, Tamra 17, Be'na 12 . . . and the list goes on.

According to Nazareth Deputy Mayor Ramez Jarayseh, "The withholding of municipal funds is the main reason for the crisis." However, he pointed out, "The municipality benefited from the last voluntary work campaign which devoted time and effort to restoring unfit school rooms."

Another major problem plaguing school administrators and the local councils every year is the appointment of teachers. The ministry of education has often refused to appoint teachers who were suggested and accepted by the local councils. Eight teachers were rejected in Thellin school and another three were rejected in Kufr Yasif although they were approved by the local councils. "They just want unqualified and nonpolitical teachers who would not be willing to fight the status quo policy of ignorance imposed on our schools by the Israelis," said Nimen Marqus, the head of the local council in Kufr Yasif.

According to one school principal in the Galilee, who prefers anonymity, the appointment of teachers are made by an Israeli officer called Margulin who is a deputy in the Arab education department. This principal was told by an Arab inspector that this officer refuses to approve the appointment of teachers who have been approved by the Arab school inspectors.

No Change

Teachers, students, heads of local councils and parents expressing anger at the poor conditions of the schools, and consequently education, in the · · · · · · · · · · sectors. · said a school principal from Arrabeh. He said every year starts with the same problems.

One parent complained angrily, "How can my son study with 42 other students in the room?" · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

Question Marks at Fez Summit

The 12th Arab summit conference, held in Fez, Morocco, closed deliberations, September 8, amidst news reports of a consensus on a new Arab Peace plan to end the Middle East conflict.

Earlier news reports from Fez said that the Arab conference had agreed to end the peace-keeping mandate it has given Syrian deterrent forces in Lebanon six years ago, in exchange for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The conference began September 7, under a complete news blackout. On the 28-point agenda, prepared by the Arab foreign ministers' conference in Muhammadiyeh, Morocco, was the Saudi peace plan, the development of a united Arab stand and the Lebanese framework to end the Lebanese crisis.

The summit threatened to be moribund during the preparatory agenda-setting but the foreign ministers agreed to leave discussion of many points to the decision of the summit conference.

Before the conference opening PLO chairman Yasir Arafat informally briefed the Arab leaders on the war in Lebanon and its consequences for Lebanon and the Arab world.

The conference sessions were secret. The only leaks were reported by the Saudi Arabian News Agency, leading observers to believe that the Saudis were dominating the floor.

In other news reports, PLO chairman Yasir Arafat was said to have presented a six-point plan designed to restore Arab solidarity. The plan, which he outlined in his speech before the Arab leaders included the revitalisation of the Arab defence pact, through the holding of an immediate conference for Arab defence ministers in order to draw up a unified Arab strategy. He also called for an end to conflicts among the Arab states, and the unification of the Arab political stand in regard to the current issues facing the Arab nation. He also called on the Arab world to distinguish between the friendly camp, and the enemies of the Arab nation, and to deal with each camp accordingly.

Reports said that Arafat had not attacked, or even criticised Arab leaders.

Summit sources said that the oil-rich Arab Gulf states had agreed to pay Syria reparations for its losses in the war. News reports said that Democratic Yemen president, Ali Naser Muhammad, had left Morocco before the last session, because of ill health. Observers note that the Yemeni president's sudden departure was an expression of his objection to the progress of discussions in the conference. Syrian President Hafez Assad did not attend the last sessions of the conference.

The summit was boycotted by Libya, which expressed its suspicion over the possibility of endorsing Reagan's plan. Egypt, which was expelled from the Arab League in 1978, following her signing of the Camp David agreement, was not invited. The conferees agreed to establish a follow-up committee and a three-member delegation to convey the Arab leaders decision to the Reagan administration.

SHORTS

WHO DONE IT?

The Lebanese-Palestinian forces claimed responsibility for capturing eight Israeli soldiers on September 4, 25 km east of Beirut.

The spokesman of the defence ministry announced that Ariel Sharon, Israel's defence minister, issued a strongly-worded warning against Syria and the PLO after the disappearance of the eight soldiers.

The spokesman added the eight soldiers were manning an advanced observation post across the Syrian lines north of Bhamdoun in Lebanon mountains. The incident was discovered when contacts with the post were lost. When an Israeli unit checked the position, they found it empty. The spokesman added that footprints of the eight soldiers and their captors were tracked across the ceasefire lines into Syrian-held territories.

In his comment on the incident, Amir Druri, the northern district commander of the Israeli army, said that while it is not certain that the capture of the soldiers was carried out in coordination with Syria, Israel is holding Syria responsible for the incident.

In an answer to a question by Israel Radio, Druri said that he personally cannot believe the incident . . . because the operation occurred in mid-day and without a battle.

He said the Israeli army has "drawn conclusions" from the incident, but the forced resignation of the officer in charge in the Bhamdoun area is not directly connected with the incident. (Translated from Al Fajr September 7)

BIG PROBLEM

"Over 340,000 Israelis left Israel between the period of 1948 and 1979," according to a report published in *Davar* newspaper August 27.

This 'crisis' of emigration escalated during the last three years, 1980 to 1982, prompting Israeli officials to speak frankly about the lack of balance between immigration and emigration. Fewer Israelis come to Israel than leave it. Observers believe that this conveys a crisis in Zionist ideology, but Israeli rulers deny this fact.

According to the report, one of the main reasons for emigration is the security situation which has created 'a constant tension' in Israelis' lives: "The heavy security burden, that can be measured by the number of days reservists must serve, is obviously connected with the escalation of emigres."

Among every 1000 immigrants, 225 left, but this number represents the average of emigres since the establishment of Israel. The report mentioned that many immigrants to Israel found they could neither be absorbed nor succeed in adapting themselves to local life. The economic factor is also a large determinant in immigrants' dissatisfaction with Israel.

KOZO OKA MOTO

The Japanese prisoner Kozo Oka Moto broke his ten year silence and sang popular Japanese songs on the anniversary of the military commando operation at Lydda airport in which he and two other Japanese Red Army members participated August 31, 1972.

A Japanese professor visited Kozo Oka Moto and was on hand to hear his songs in Ramleh prison. Kozo Oka Moto has spent the past ten years in solitary confinement.

The Ramleh prison director asked the Japanese professor to ask Kozo Oka Moto, "Do you still consider yourself a member of the Japanese Red Army?" Kozo Oka Moto said that he is still loyal to his organisation. *(Translation from Al Fajr, August 31, 1982)*

TWO MARTYRS

KUFR YASIF — Two Palestinian martyrs — originally from Kufr Yasif, the Galilee, — who fell confronting the invading Israeli forces, were mourned in the village by hundreds of people. A march was organised starting from the house of the martyrs' cousins to the cemetery were two wreaths were put on the grave of their grandfather.

CENSORSHIP REPORT

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for Issue 122, September 3 – 9, 1982

Number of original articles submitted to censor	38
Number of articles totally censored	15
Number of articles returned	1
Number of articles mutilated	2
Number of articles partially censored, but used	3
Number of articles passed	17

VOLUNTARY WORK AT *AL-FAJR*

by Daoud Kuttab

Over 50 youths from the Jerusalem area spent the hottest part of Saturday, September 4, in a clean-up and beautifying campaign outside the *Al Fajr* offices. The youths, all member of the Committee of Youths for Social Work, are involved in voluntary work activities in their respective communities. While two smaller groups dug in at the offices of the Arabic daily *Al Fajr* and its print shop, the majority of the youth rolled up their sleeves and went to work on the front yard of the English weekly office.

Fourteen-year old Daoud Khashan enjoyed working, despite the heat. He explained that voluntary work is "very good for any individual." The slight youth thinks "it's necessary to get used to work at an early age. Whenever I hear there is voluntary work I come," he explained. Daoud, who was born in the Shufat refugee camp in Jerusalem said his family came from Barkousia, one of 360 Palestinian villages destroyed in 1948. Sporting blue sweat pants and sneakers, he helped in whatever was asked of him, moving stones, passing buckets, providing water for the workers. "When you help other people they will help you," he philosophised.

Cleaning up Al Fajr

Daoud Khashan will begin eighth grade when school opens this year but he has bigger plans in the future. When he grows up he will open an office for voluntary work.

Wadi Joz

The youths involved in the *Al Fajr* projects belong to local committees throughout Jerusalem and its suburbs: Wadi Joz, Beit Hanina, Tur, Hizma, Qatanna, Silwan and Shu'fat.

During a well earned lunch break of mortadella and soft drinks, *Al Fajr* spoke to Nayef Jaradat. Nineteen-year-old Jaradat, who plans to attend Bir Zeit during the coming school year, heads the Wadi Joz work committee. The committee is small — five to ten active members — but has a lot of moral and financial support from the community, explained Jaradat. The muscular young man explained that this was only the second project their newly formed committee has participated in. Members and supporters of the committee collected money and distributed IS2000 among four financially deprived families who have sons imprisoned or martyred. In addition to participating in activities called for by the Jerusalem committee, the Wadi Joz youth committee has a few local projects staked out where it would like to work next. A fence around the local mosque could be erected if no major work is left undone by the municipality.

While the various work committees are always looking for new members Jaradat believes that they can accomplish much with the exisiting group. Long discussions are usually held after each project in which future plans and other topics are discussed. This time is used usually by them as a conscious raising session, noted Jaradat.

ISRAELI GOVERNMENT REJECTS "FRESH START"

Official Israeli government reaction to US President Ronald Reagan's August 31 suggestions for the ultimate status of the occupied territories was not favourable. Begin called the day he received Reagan's missive "the saddest day I have had since becoming prime minister." He termed the Reagan package "an affront to Israel" and was reportedly particularly incensed that the United States had consulted with the heads of state of Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia days before divulging its plan to Israel.

US officials told the media that it was worried over possible Israeli leaks of the Reagan-Begin letter which prompted the US president to broadcast his plans in full on US television the next day. In response, Begin cut short a Naharlyeh vacation and led a cabinet meeting, September 2, where there was unanimous agreement: "On the basis of these proposals, Israel will not enter into any negotiations with any party whatsoever."

Principally, the Likud government objected to the US refusal to tolerate claims of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, land which it has had every hope of one day annexing. Likewise the freeze Reagan requested on future settlement building, much less ceding the area to Jordan, was rejected as out-of-hand by the Likud leaders who are in the midst of an accelerated settlement drive. All government officials agreed the Reagan outline was a violation of the Camp David framework.

Right-wing Tehiya leaders within the cabinet called for immediate outright annexation of the West Bank and Gaza in response to the US' watering down of Israeli legal claims. The proposal was not accepted, however.

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon told Israel Radio, September 4, that the US plan affects Israel's very existence. The architect of the Lebanese invasion said, "We should be given the full opportunity to reap the benefits of our achievements in Lebanon...we have an opportunity to start a real dialogue with the Arabs of Eretz Israel (his term for Palestinians in the occupied territories)."

According to Sharon, who is one of the most outspoken critics of Reagan's 'fresh start,' Israel has its own proposals. "We have suggested an autonomy plan which would allow the Arabs of Eretz Israel to run their own lives for five years practically without Israeli intervention."

Speaking on Israel Army Radio, September 3, Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich reminded listeners of "mutual dependence" between Israel and the United States, and ended vaguely by saying, "We did the Americans a great service in Lebanon, though I can't give details here." He denied allegations that there was any crisis in US-Israeli relations over the plan.

West Bank Suspicious of US Plan

The latest US plan for "solving" Middle East problems presented on television by US President Reagan, September 1, drew markedly unenthusiastic response from Palestinians in the occupied territories. While all the figures *Al Fajr* contacted left it to the PLO to decide on it, many expressed their own opinion – of opposition. The plan, they said, "falls short of what the Palestinians strive for."

The Palestinian concensus seems to be that the plan is designed to serve Israeli interests and that it does not deviate from the Camp David principles which have already been rejected by the Palestinians. Furthermore they agreed that the US stand against the building of new settlements in the occupied territories did not change their views concerning the US.

In interveiws with *Al Fajr* Palestinian mayors and other public figures stated that the plan is "vague," and failed to define even the minimum of Palestinian legal rights.

Nablus

Bassam Shaka'a commented by saying that Reagan's scheme does not present any new ideas but is merely an outgrowth of the war in Lebanon. Shaka'a believes that as long as the situation continues to be governed by the Israeli military might, any initiative will serve the Israeli and US strategic goals in the area. He also stressed that peace in the area must be rooted in the acknowledgment of the Palestinian legal rights.

Ramallah

Karim Khalaf, said that Reagan's scheme completely ignores the basic rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO. He said that the American ideas are actually a continuation of the Camp David accords packaged in an "attractive" manner. Khalaf noted that the Israeli rejection of this plan serves to prepare the way for some Arab parties to accept the plan, and join the Camp David line-up.

Anabta

Wahid Hamdallah said that the PLO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is the only party eligible to decide on the Reagan scheme. Hamdallah noted though that in his own opinion, "The plan made by the US, which is the number one enemy of the Palestinian people, is designed to deprive us of our freedom, identity and right to sovereignty on our Palestinian land." He also noted that the plan is, in fact, a step backwards, and therefore rejects it.

Al-Bireh

Ibrahim Tawil, said that the initiative is no more than a minor change in US policy towards the Middle East. Tawil added that we, the Palestinians of the occupied territories strive, before anything else, for the acquisition of national rights. He concluded that if the US is really interested in solving the Palestinian problem, it must not be influenced by Israel when it makes decision.(Translation: Al Shaab, September 7)

Dr. Azmi Shu'abi, . . . stated that the only change in US policy is the part which calls on Israel to stop the building of settlements, and which recognises the Palestinians as a people and not refugees. Shu'abi warned that we cannot trust the US intentions in the area especially because of its interests in maintaining a strategic position and its opposition to the Palestinian rights of self-determination. (Translation: Al Usbu'a al-Jadid, September 6)

When Labour Alignment leader Shimon Peres applauded the Reagan moves, Israel TV attributed a remark to Begin, made in a cabinet session, that supporters could be considered "traitors." Begin's office later denied the remark. US officials expect that internal debate will eventually soften the Begin opposition.

On Sunday, September 4, the Ministerial Committee on Settlements of the World Zionist Organisation announced that eight new settlements would be set up in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Israeli government promptly administered funds for three. The move was considered untimely by US officials, but Israel denied any connection between Reagan's request for a settlement freeze and the announcement. Begin countered that "Judea and Samaria will never again be the West Bank of the Jordanian kingdom."

On September 5, US Secretary of State George Schultz called the WZO settlement plan "an unwelcome development" and insisted on guarantees for the West Bank and Gaza, such as demilitarisation, no matter what its final status. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, speaking before members of the local Herut branch, said in reply: "As long as we are in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, there is no need for demilitarisation, because we do not threaten the security of any state in the region. Demilitarisation is necessary only in case of Arab rule." In any event, demilitarisation is impossible, considering the "lay of the land."

The Reagan plan may also cause friction in the American Jewish community. The Israel lobby AIPAC has supported the US president's proposals, saying it has "more positives than negatives," while the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organisations refused to take a formal position but criticised the change in US role from "honest broker" to taking a position on sensitive issues.

BEQA'A ON THE BURNER: WILL IT BOIL OVER?

Five-hundred metres from the Israeli frontlines in the Beqa'a Valley, Syrian tanks took positions in trenches, amidst recently cultivated cornfields. On the Israeli side, walls of dirt made a defence line around an Arab hospital, which Israeli forces have taken over as an advanced headquarters of the invading army in the Jib Jnin area.

The three-storey cement hospital is located on a hilltop, resembling a medical castle in the middle of beautiful rural surroundings. Grapes, melons and corn are plentiful. Across the valley, lines of willow trees follow the water canals and streams which feed into the Litani River.

The two armies are taking a rest, awaiting what diplomats in Beirut and Washington will do concerning the negotiations for a peaceful disengagement of forces. While Israel demands an unconditional Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, her right-wing Lebanese allies continue to release pessimistic reports that a battle for the Beqa'a is nearing.

Unconfirmed news reports state that each side has more than 1000 tanks in the valley, although a quick visit behind the Syrian lines proved the estimate of 1000 tanks to be an exaggeration.

Some diplomatic sources said that a larger Syrian contingent is stationed near Deir al-Ashayer village, inside Syrian territory, at a distance of 30 kilometres from the capital, Damascus, hence the territory holds great strategic importance for Syria.

The Syrian-backed lines stretch beyond the Beirut-Damascus highway, to Rayaq in the north, where half-circular earth piles protect the Syrian armoured vehicles. Anti-aircraft batteries are still scattered throughout the 12-km wide plain.

Quiet . . .

The are no signs of recent reinforcements or drilling machines, which were reportedly used in digging up a complicated net of trenches in the area. Residents of Sultan Ya'coub village, an agricultural community on the eastern slope of the valley near Jib Jnin (which is under Israeli control) said the area has been quiet for more than a week. Before however, they saw the two armies trade tank fire across their frontlines. They also said that a teachers training centre in the north was badly damaged during the exchange of fire.

Syrian military sources related the current quiet to its success in stopping the Palestinian military operations behind the Israeli lines. Israel's Defence Minister Ariel Sharon had held Syria responsible for any PLO activities originating from the Syrian lines. However, one Syrian soldier said that "the Palestinians are not permitted to enter through here, but still, the Israelis continue to shell our tanks."

Eight kilometres to the north, news correspondents saw military jeeps decorated with potraits of the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, and Fatah emblems.

A Syrian Cover for the PLO

In Weifel refugee camp, in Ba'albek, where the Palestinian presence in the Beqa'a is concentrated, one PLO official said that on some occasion, PLO guerrilla tactics contradict those of the regular Syrian army. He explained that the Syrians offer cover for the PLO, on occasions, while they stop the PLO commandos at other times.

Before the war Weifel refugee camp housed 6000 people. Nearly 4,500 refugees recently arrived from Beirut, and the south. Local security sources said that the PLO had recruited 2000 fighters among them and armed them with light weaponry, such as assault rifles and propelled grenade anti-tank launchers.

QALQILYA'S PROUD REFUGEES

by Awad Abdel Fattah

In contrast to those Palestinians who now live in refugee camps scattered in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, refugees who fled their besieged villages in 1948 for the green-line town of Qalqilya have become incorporated into the residential community of 30,000.

On a superficial level, there is no evidence of their status as refugees. The 'refugee' neighbourhood, within the city, is full of modern buildings. Municipal laws are applied to them and they enjoy the same rights as the original citizens of the city, while still being considered by UNRWA as refugees. UNRWA accords them various services; three schools have been made available, for example, for the Palestinian refugee population.

Most of the refugees in Qalqilya have chosen to live in the eastern part of the town, where it was possible to buy land for building new houses. The approximately 6000 refugees come from three villages which had bordered Qalqilya to the west: Biyar Adas, Meski and Kufr Saba which was destroyed by the Israelis and turned into a Jewish settlement called Kablan. (In addition to the 1948 war refugees, 5000 Palestinians, already refugees, were expelled from Gaza camps in 1970 when Israel created 'security roads.' They also came to Qalqilya, as well as other West Bank towns — ed.)

Walking in Kufr Saba neighbourhood, named after the village from which most of the refugees came, the crowded, narrow lanes and small one-storey houses which characterise refugee camps in other areas of the occupied territories are absent. "We called our quarter after the name of our village," said Khaled Walwali, a school teacher, "in order to keep in mind that we must go back one day. It is a sign of love for our homeland."

They now afix pride rather than shame to the title of refugee, but it was not easy for those pushed from their homes to accept their expulsion and to adjust to the new conditions. Most had been landowners and did not imagine that they would never return to their villages to enjoy the easy life they once lived. "An Iraqi officer," recalled Yussef al-Adel, an old man from Kufr Saba,"came with an army unit near the borders of Qalqilya. I asked him when our village would be restored. When he said he had no orders to restore villages, I was shocked."

Those expelled who flocked to Qalqilya trying to find shelter suffered bitterly until they could arrange their life anew. Those who had lived independently were forced to work as hired

labourers for Qalqilya land owners, reclaiming lands on the mountain tops. But local Qalqilya residents were no luckier than the new refugees. The Zionist forces also captured Qalqilya's most fertile land, estimated at 40,000 dunums.

In the first ten years, refugees say, life was very difficult. Although they were welcomed by the residents of Qalqilya who could rent them housing — preventing their internment in isolated camps set up by UNRWA — the majority were forced to move more than twice during this period, either because their landlords needed the space themselves or because the rented house was too small for the growing refugee family.

Abu Adnan from Biyar Adas and his four-member family worked for 8 years without saving, just to survive. They lived through this period in a small room with no toilet facilities or water.

Abu Adnan, who is now 70 years old, painfully recalled his 400 dunums left behind in his village. "Although some of my relatives," he said, "went several times to the site of the village where Israeli buildings stand today, I didn't go." He cannot bear the new scene, he says. "What if an Israeli would tell me, 'Get out' — off my own land! . . . I don't know what would happen to me."

The economic and social situation of the refugees began to change for the better in the 1960s — not because they had bought or reclaimed lands but because the sons of the refugees sought lucrative work in the oil-booming Gulf states. Every single family had one or two sons abroad working to support their families back home. "This was our only solution," said Khaled Walwali, who believes that without this avenue of escape, they could not have purchased land and built new houses. "It was with our son's money that we improved our life," he added.

Another solution to the economic problems of their first decade in exile was a popular Palestinian one: education. About 70 percent of the young men and women are educated, and a significant number are professionals — teachers, physicians and engineers.

But despite the high percentage of educated people the life of most refugees has worsened since the 1967 occupation which has driven about 60 percent of the workers into the Israeli black labour market. Even those who own lands have given up agriculture since the rising costs of fertilizer, water and pesticides have made profits negligible.

Why Not in Camp

Most of the locals including the refugees believe that the help given by the residents of Qalqilya to the refugees immediately after their expulsion is the main reason why they are not in camps today. This is said indirectly by the refugees when they praise the warm welcome shown them during that difficult time by the Qalqilya residents. "We will never forget this favour," said one refugee from Biyar Adas.

Hisham Khatib, a universtiy graduate who has followed the development of the town since 1948, views a more important reason to be the fact that both refugees and residents lost their lands and had to work together in order to restore less fertile land. This absence of an economic and social gap caused by the devastating loss of land "helped both sides interact with each other and eliminate any feelings among the expelled people that they are refugees."

However, the refugees, especially the elderly, have never for a moment forgotten that they are refugees although they are not stigmatised by the local community. "I always think about my village," said Abu Adnan, who used to live just a few kilometres away.

Conditions for Work Permits

by Daoud Kuttab

Israeli military authorities have placed new conditions on foreigners applying for work permits in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Applicants are now obliged to sign an affidavit promising not to get involved in "any activity that is expected to assist or support the organisation called the PLO or any other terror organisation, . . . whether it be direct or indirect."

. . . . . .

Albert Aghazarian, director of public relations at Bir Zeit University which employs the largest number of foreigners in the West Bank, says the new regulation affects 61 foreign staff members who are scheduled to work this school year. Last year the university submitted to the military government a list of all foreigners who intended to work at the university. When the university heard no answer from the military authorities, they considered the silence as tacit agreement by the authorities and invited foreign staffers who were on tourist visas to stay on. "This time things are different," the BZU spokesman explained. "The authorities replied to our list by demanding that all foreign staff sign this document."

The foreign staff at BZU asked university vice-president Dr. Gabi Baramki to raise the issue with the military governor. When he did the governor agreed to allow the university's lawyer to discuss the problem with the military government's legal advisor. The legal advisors talked but came to no result. "The Israeli authorities insist on their demand," explained Elias Khouri, Bir Zeit University's legal advisor, to *Al Fajr*.

Spokesman for the civil administration of the West Bank, Akhiva Itzhaqi, defended the government's position. Speaking to *Al Fajr* Itzhaqi equated the new document to similar ones which United States and some European countries demand before granting visas. "Just as the US will not issue a visa to anyone who refuses to testify that he doesn't belong to the Communist party or to the neo-Nazi party, so we will not issue work permits to any foreigner intending to work in the West Bank unless they sign that they don't support the PLO or any other enemy organisation," explained the Israeli spokesman.

An *ad hoc* committee of faculty of the three West Bank universities, which employ a total of 136 holders of foreign passports, has been formed to unite the position of foreign staff affected by the new regulation. An active member of the committee, who preferred not to be identified because he did not want to be the first on the list of those deported, explained his reasons for objecting to the pledge: "When we first arrived we were told not to get involved in politics. Now we are asked to sign a document that is very political."

Formal objections to the signing of the affidavit has been released by the committee and distributed to the press.

Members of the committee have contacted the legal advisors of the three universities and are making plans to contact their respective consuls.

The following is an unofficial translation from the Hebrew text:

"Pursuant to my request for the issuance of a work permit for the academic year 1982-1983 which was submitted on _____ and without affecting my general commitment as per the request referred to above, I hereby declare that I am fully committed against indulging in any act and offering any assistance to the organisation called the PLO or any other terrorist organisation that is considered to be hostile to the State of Israel as indicated in the Act for the Prevention of Acts of Belligerence and Enemy Propaganda (Amendment No. 1) (Judea and Samaria No. 938) 5742-1982, such acts being of a direct or indirect nature."

TO: **Faculty and Staff Holding Foreign Passports**
FROM: **Foreign Passport Holders' Ad Hoc Committee**
SUBJECT: **Applications for Work Permits, 1982-83**

Consultations are now going on among representatives of West Bank university faculty and staff holding foreign passports, and with legal counsel, to determine what action to recommend with regard to the "Commitment" we are being asked to sign by the military authorities.

In the meantime, we urge that no one should sign the "Commitment," pending further clarification of the issues involved, and a recommendation for united action.

September 6, 1982